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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS

FRAGMENTS OF GREEK LITERATURE IN THE BIBLE.

IT is not often that one is able to report the discovery of fragments of Greek literature in the Bible; so that the student of Biblical origins will have an especial interest in the present number of the "BULLETIN," and in Dr. Rendel Harris's detection of passages from the Greek tragedians in the third book of the Maccabees. One of these extracts appears to come from an unknown author, and it is probable that the mine which Dr. Harris has opened may have more treasures in it than have fallen to the lot of the first excavator, for he sometimes leaves more than he takes.

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA.

Under the title "The Synopsis of Christian Doctrine in the Fourth Century" we print a translation, with critical apparatus, by Dr. Mingana, of an unpublished text embodying the theological views of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Since almost all the writings of this illustrious Father of the Church were destroyed in consequence of the charges of doctrinal error brought against him soon after his death, this interesting contribution to the patristics of what may be described as the golden age of Christianity, cannot fail to be of interest to our readers.

The treatise partakes of the character of a catechism, with questions and answers on all the important points of Christian dogma, giving in a succinct form the gist of all that was necessary for salvation with regard to dogmatic and moral doctrine. It may be said that Theodore's authority was so great in the fourth to the fourteenth century that from the Euphrates to Manchuria the outcome of every discussion could be summarised as follows: "Theodorus loquitur causa finitur".

In a previous issue of the "BULLETIN" (Vol. 4, No. 1, April-August, 1917, p. 123) the Rev. D. P. Buckle called attention to the importance of the Coptic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library

for the study of Christian Egypt. The interest of Coptic writers was not restricted, however, to their own country. Councils and martyrdoms gave them an opportunity of throwing light on controversies and persecutions in other lands. In connection with the latter subject we hope in the next issue to reproduce in facsimile four pages of the Rylands Coptic MS. No. 94, showing how the homily of Basil the Great, on the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste was partly enlarged and partly misunderstood by a Coptic writer, and how the Egyptian Version is an intermediate step between the original and simplest narrative and the highly developed accounts given in the earliest printed "Gesta," in the collections of Vincentius Bellovacensis (1473), Mombritius (1483), Petrus de Natalibus (1519), and in the extremely extended story of Lipomanus (1581). These accounts will be compared with what seems to be their Greek source, as published by Abicht (in "Archiv. f. Slav. Phil.," vol. 18, pp. 190-2) and by Gebhardt in his "Acta martyrum selecta". The gradual growth of the story will be further illustrated by the "Commentarius prævius" and the other narratives given in the Bollandist "Acta Sanctorum".

THE FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTE.

Professor W. M. Lindsay of St. Andrews sends an interesting note regarding the Rylands Greek Papyri, No. 61, which gives to the fragment a new interest. The papyrus referred to is a fragment of Cicero's "Second Speech against Catiline," and is a welcome novelty by reason of the fact that Cicero papyri are of rare occurrence, although by a stroke of bad luck the passages covered in this example happen to be deficient in points of textual interest. It is described in the "Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library," vol. 1, pp. 193-4, and we cannot do better than reproduce the paragraph in which Professor A. S. Hunt describes it.

A BILINGUAL PAPYRUS OF CICERO.

"This manuscript which was in book form, was not of the ordinary kind, but was designed for a Greek-speaking reader imperfectly acquainted with the Latin language. The Latin words are arranged singly or in small groups in one column, and a parallel column gives the literal equivalents in Greek. But though of the nature of a school-book, and no example of calligraphy, the papyrus is not in an unpractised hand. Both the Latin original and the Greek rendering were written by one person, who used the brown ink characteristic of

the Byzantine period. The Latin script is in the mixed uncial style. . . . The Greek is in irregular uncials also with some cursive admixture. Their appearance suggests the end of the fourth or the fifth century, and the papyrus may be assigned with probability to the period from about 400 to 450 A.D. It may therefore claim to be the oldest authority for this speech of Cicero by some four centuries."

Professor Lindsay remarks that: "The famous Philoxenus Glossary" (see his interesting articles in the "Classical Review," vol. 31, pp. 158 and 188) "was compiled partly from a bilingual text of Cicero's 'Second Speech against Catiline'. Its home seems to have been Italy. Your papyrus shows that the same bilingual text was used in Egypt in the fifth century. That strongly suggests that this speech had been published with a Greek word-for-word translation as a school-book, and was used for teaching Latin in Greek-speaking countries and Greek in Latin-speaking countries, which puts your papyrus fragment in a new light."

THE MEDICI ARCHIVES.

At the deferred sale of the Medici Archives, which took place in May last, we were fortunate in being able to acquire for the library a quantity of briefs, bulls, letters, and other interesting and apparently unexplored papers relating to property, lawsuits, and other family affairs of the Medici. It may be of interest to readers to be reminded that, originally, the sale was fixed to take place on four days in the early part of February, 1918, but at the last moment the Italian Government stepped in, the sale was postponed, and it was not until the Italian authorities had extracted from the collection all such documents as they considered to be of national importance that the sale was sanctioned.

The sale catalogue was prepared by Mr. Royall Tyler, and will remain a model of its kind, and an indispensable book of reference about the Medici.

A comparison of the original catalogue with the revised edition, prepared for the deferred sale, will reveal the fact that no fewer than 174 of the most interesting lots were withdrawn to form part of the permanent archives of Italy. We are glad to learn, however, that the remaining series of letters of Lorenzo de' Medici were sold in one lot, and that the collection of ledgers, account books, and memoranda of the Medici family as bankers and merchants are

also to be kept together in this country, both lots having been acquired by Mr. Gordon Selfridge.

THE PETERLOO MASSACRE.

The centenary of what is known as "The Peterloo Massacre" was commemorated in Manchester on Saturday the 16th of August. The tragic event so marked occurred in St. Peter's Fields, at that time an open space, which is now covered by modern buildings including the Free Trade Hall, where a great throng of people numbering about 60,000, principally operatives of Manchester and the outlying districts of Middleton, Royton, Chadderton, Rochdale, Saddleworth, Oldham, Stockport, and Bury assembled under the chairmanship of Thomas Hunt, better known as "Orator Hunt," one of the leading figures in the Reform agitation, to demand a radical reform of Parliament, or, to be more exact, "to consider the propriety of adopting the most legal and effectual means of obtaining reform of the Commons House of Parliament". When the open space was packed with this dense mass of men and women, some carrying flags and banners, others carrying children, they were suddenly, without warning and without having given the least provocation, charged by the Manchester and Cheshire Yeomanry, and the 15th Hussars, and trampled upon and sabred by the horsemen, with the result that within ten minutes the space was cleared, except for the dying and injured victims left lying in heaps. A careful investigation later by the Relief Committee put the casualties at eleven killed and nearly 600 wounded.

The occasion was further marked by the publication of "The Story of Peterloo" from the pen of Mr. F. A. Bruton, a pre-print of the article which appears elsewhere in the present issue of the BULLETIN, for which it was written. It is an exceedingly clear and connected narrative, based on all the contemporary evidence of the often distorted and little understood event, the publication of which has already led to interesting developments, four of which we may briefly mention :—

(1) Lord Sheffield has written to ask that Bishop Stanley's account of Peterloo, which was lithographed for private circulation only, in 1819, and has never been published, should now be made public, enclosing a cheque towards the expenses of the issue. In accordance with his wish, Stanley's valuable account will be supplemented by that written by Sir William Jolliffe, afterwards Lord Hylton, and the

MS. account left by Mr. J. B. Smith, afterwards first Chairman of the Anti-Corn Law League. These three narratives are shortly to be edited by Mr. Bruton for the Manchester University Press under the title: "Three accounts of Peterloo by Eye-witnesses".

(2) One of the most interesting narratives of Peterloo is one entitled: "An impartial narrative of the melancholy occurrences, etc.," issued at the time of the catastrophe. It was anonymous, and the authorship has remained a mystery for a hundred years. The writer of "The Story of Peterloo" hazarded a guess at the authorship on page 25 of his pamphlet (see p. 275). He there conjectured that it may have been written by Mr. J. Smith, who reported for the "Liverpool Mercury". He has since received a communication from Lady Durning-Lawrence stating that his conjecture was correct, i.e. that the "Impartial narrative" was written by Mr. J. Smith, and that this Mr. J. Smith was her father, and is identical with the Mr. J. B. Smith mentioned earlier in the same passage. Thus a mystery of a century's standing is satisfactorily cleared up.

(3) The Library has been fortunate in being able to acquire a small octavo account-book, leather bound, which seems to have been an official record of the casualties at Peterloo which were dealt with by one of the Relief Committees. It contains details of the names, addresses, and injuries of 347 individuals, particulars of the successive grants made to them by one committee, and references to the grants made by another committee (possibly two others).

The details given are corroborative of many of the statements in Mr. Bruton's "Story". Thus: the cases include those of Elizabeth Gaunt (mentioned on pp. 274, and 275), of Mrs. Fildes (on p. 274), of Thomas Radford (on pp. 285, 291, and 294). There are references to the loose timber (see pp. 269, 284, and 294), the injuries to special constables (see p. 280), the fight near the Friends' Meeting House (see pp. 284 and 289), the oak trees growing near that building (see pp. 269, 294), the white hat as a symbol of Radicalism (see p. 273), the fear of losing employment evinced by the wounded (see p. 291), the infantry intercepting fugitives (see p. 290), the child killed by a trooper in Cooper Street (see p. 277), and so on. The sum total voted by this committee appears to have been £687; it must be remembered, however, that the sum of £3000 mentioned on p. 291 as having been subscribed may have been used partly for legal expenses.

Since Mr. Bruton's "Story" was written, and since this manuscript account book came to light, Mr. Bruton has discovered a printed Report of the Relief Committee differing from the manuscript copy, in which 560 cases are described and the amount raised to date is given as £3408 1s. 8d., and pronounced as inadequate for 600 people. It also gives the amount spent on legal expenses as £1077.

(4) A well-known firm, whose offices stand on the site of Peterloo, have decided to mark the centenary of the event by placing a commemorative tablet on the walls of the building.

THE LOUVAIN LIBRARY.

The appeal which we made in our last issue for further contributions to the new library for the University of Louvain, which has been in process of formation, here in Manchester, since December, 1914, has met with the same encouraging response as was accorded to our earlier requests for help. In proof of this statement it needs only to be pointed out that since the publication of our last report upwards of 9000 additional volumes have been sent in, whereby the total number of volumes actually received and registered is increased to 21,000. Even this does not complete the record, for it does not take into account many other definite offers of help which have still to materialize, and several large consignments of books at present in course of transit from such distant parts of the Empire as Bombay, Sydney, and Toronto, which together will further swell the total by many thousands of volumes.

It will be of interest to our readers, especially to those whose names figure in the lists of contributors, to learn that the Rector of the University (Monsignor P. Ladeuze) writing under date of the 21st of September in the name of his Alma Mater, at the conclusion of the first session of its revival, refers in terms of gratitude and appreciation to what has been accomplished already with the help of the many contributors and institutions, who with great promptitude and generosity supported our scheme of reconstruction.

Readers will also learn with pleasure of the success which has attended the University since its reopening in January last. No less than 3200 students have been in attendance, and Monsignor Ladeuze anticipates a still larger number of entries at the opening of the new session in November. It is not surprising, however, to learn that, in the absence of any properly equipped library, the work of the students has been somewhat hampered. Fortunately that want is

likely to be met, at least in part, during the ensuing session, since temporary premises have been secured, to serve as a library and reading-room, pending the erection of the new library building. It will be our privilege to assist in the equipment of the shelves, and to that end we are at present making arrangements for the dispatch to Louvain of the first consignment of the new library, consisting of 5000 volumes, with an accompanying catalogue. Other consignments will follow as they can be made ready for shipment.

There are still many of our readers, we feel sure, who would welcome an opportunity of being associated with this practical expression of sympathy with the authorities of the University, and through them of gratitude to the Nation who sacrificed all but honour to preserve her own independence, and thereby safeguard the liberties of Europe by nullifying the invader's plans. Further gifts either of books or money are invited, and may be sent to the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Manchester. In the case of books we would ask prospective donors to be good enough, in the first instance, to submit a list of their proposed gifts, so as to obviate unnecessary duplication.

Elsewhere in these pages we print a supplementary list of contributors, to whom we take this opportunity of offering our grateful thanks for their welcome and generous co-operation.

The following series (the eighteenth) of public lectures has been arranged for the ensuing session. They will be given, as usual, in the lecture hall of the library. PUBLIC LECTURES.

EVENING LECTURES (7.30 p.m.).

Wednesday, 24th September, 1919. "English Assyriology during the War." By Canon C. H. W. Johns, Litt.D., D.D., etc., Sometime Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.

Wednesday, 8th October, 1919. "The Messianic Consciousness of Jesus." By Arthur S. Peake, M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 22nd October, 1919. "The Story of Peterloo." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By F. A. Bruton, M.A., of the Manchester Grammar School.

Wednesday, 12th November, 1919. "Recent Tendencies in European Poetry." By C. H. Herford, M.A., Litt.D., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th December, 1919. "The Present Position of Papyrology." By Bernard P. Grenfell, D.Litt., F.B.A., etc., Professor of Papyrology in the University of Oxford, and Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford.

Wednesday, 14th January, 1920. "History and Ethnology." By W. H. R. Rivers, M.A., M.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Wednesday, 11th February, 1920. "The 'Mayflower' and her Voyages." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc., Hon. Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.

Wednesday, 10th March, 1920. "On Some Aspect of the Reign of Edward III." By T. F. Tout, M.A., F.B.A., Bishop Fraser Professor of Mediæval and Ecclesiastical History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th April, 1920. "Shakespeare's 'Lear': A Moral Problem Dramatised." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Sometime Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

Friday, 16th April, 1920. "Fiction as the Experimental Side of Human Philosophy." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., etc., etc.

AFTERNOON LECTURES (3 p.m.).

"Two Lectures (Biblical and Devotional) for Ministers and Others." By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., D.Theol., etc., Hon. Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge.

Tuesday, 4th November, 1919. "Spikenard and Prophecy."

Tuesday, 2nd March, 1920. "The Hart and the Waterbrooks."

METRICAL FRAGMENTS IN III MACCABEES.

By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., Litt.D., etc.

IN the fifth chapter of the *Third Book of Maccabees*, where the story, more or less apocryphal, is told of the attempts made by Ptolemy Philopator to destroy the Egyptian Jews in the Hippodrome at Alexandria, and of the various Divine interpositions by which their fate is averted, the religious novelist comes to the point where the tyrant, filled with rage, begins to threaten his unfortunate underlings. He is especially mad with Hermon, the keeper of his elephants, who had been ordered to intoxicate the beasts with wine and frankincense, and then turn them on the unfortunate Jews that they might be trampled to death. The plan had miscarried in various ways through miraculous intervention; amongst other things, the tyrant overslept himself, and lost the memory of what he had ordered: and in the end a Dioscuric epiphany, similar to what occurred in the *Second Book of Maccabees*, in the story of Heliodorus, relieved the strain on the Jews by turning the elephants on the persecutors.

The language in which the tyrant addresses the unfortunate elephantarch is given as follows in the text of Swete's Septuagint:—

30 Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν πληρωθεὶς βαρεῖ χόλῳ
διὰ τὸ περὶ τούτων προνοίᾳ Θεοῦ διεσκεδάσθαι
πᾶν αὐτοῦ νόημα, ἐνατενίσας μετὰ ἀπειλῆς εἶπεν·
31 Ὅσοι γονεῖς παρῆσαν ἢ παίδων γόνοι, τήνδε
θηρσὶν ἀγρίοις ἐσκεύασαν δαψιλῆ θοίναν
ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνεγκλήτων, ἐμοὶ καὶ προγόνοις ἐμοῖς
ἀποδεδειγμένων ὁλοσχερῆ βέβαιαν πίστιν
ἐξοχῶς Ἰουδαίων.

It need hardly be said that this is untranslatable Greek and an impossible text. Swete prints from the Alexandrian MS., because this was the only uncial MS. available in facsimile, and gives notes from the Codex Venetus, which is equally an uncial (though the Oxford editors, Holmes and Parsons, did not know it to be such) and a

far better text. It is quite clear that a new edition of this and other Maccabee texts will have to be produced. Even with the substitution or assistance of the Codex Venetus, the text is not as good as can be obtained from the cursive MSS., and we have often a better text in Holmes and Parsons than in Swete. So we are not yet very far on in the determination of the text of the LXX. Let us, then, examine the text as printed by Swete, and see if we can throw any light upon it. The difficulty of translation begins with the speech of the tyrant: against this I had noted that the first words were an iambic trimeter, and this is also observed by Emmet in Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, as follows: "The first part of the verse (v. 31) is an iambic, apparently an unidentified quotation from a poet": we must not, however, edit the line in the form given above, but as in Holmes and Parsons,

Εἴ σοι γονεῖς παρῆσαν ἢ παίδων γόνοι (l. γοναί)

and then, with the same authorities, making one small correction (ἐσκεύασ' ἂν for ἐσκεύασαν ἄν), we may continue the narration

τήνδε [*or* τούσδε] θηρσὶν ἀγρίοις ἐσκεύασ' ἄν δαψιλῆ
θοίναν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνεγκλήτων·

I.e. "If parents or family of yours had been here, I would have made this (*or* those) into a luxurious banquet for wild beasts, instead of the innocent Jews."

But here a difficulty arises: the elephants were not going to eat the Jews, as if they were lions' meat or leopards'; they would, at the worst, trample them to death. So the suggestion arises as to whether the quotation from the unknown poet may not have gone further. The speech of the tyrant is certainly very rhythmic, and if he was talking prose, he was not aware of the fact. He very seldom talks ordinary prose, though he manages to present it in official documents. Let us see whether the speech of Ptolemy Philopator can be brought into verse form, without serious alteration of the text. Our first attempt to find the line divisions results as follows:—

Εἴ σοι γονεῖς παρῆσαν ἢ παίδων γόνοι,
Τήνδε θηρσὶν ἀγρίοις ἐσκεύασ' ἄν
Δαψιλῆ θοίνην ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνεγκλήτων,
Ἐμοὶ προγόνοις τ' ἐμοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένων,
Ὁλοσχερῆ βεβαίαν πίστιν ἔξοχῶς
Ἰουδαίων·

It will require a very modest array of changes to make this metrical. It is evident that we are dealing with a genuine tragic fragment, capable of restoration with more or less of exactness. We will leave the final form of the restored passage to a later point in the argument.

We now proceed to inquire (i) whether it is possible to identify the author or the work from whom the Hellenistic author of the *Third Book of Maccabees* has pilfered; (ii) whether there are any other metrical fragments in the rest of the book.

We begin with a tentative solution of the first of these points.

What we have before us is a genuine piece of Greek verse, the language of a tyrant put into the mouth of a tyrant: is it possible to identify the speaker?

The author of *Third Maccabees* definitely compares Ptolemy Philopator to Phalaris, the monster of the ancient world, whom Cicero describes as *crudelissimus omnium Tyrannorum*, *e.g.* v. 20: "The King *with a rage more fierce than Phalaris* said that (the Jews) might thank his sleep for their day's respite".

v. 42. "On this day the King, a *Phalaris in all respects*, was filled with madness, etc."

We notice that our assumed verses (v. 31) *come between the two references to Phalaris*, and the suggestion arises that they may be taken from some Greek poem, of which Phalaris is the central figure. The argument would hold, if our restoration of all the verses except the first should be deemed unsatisfactory: the opening verse by itself would put in a claim not only for a tragic origin, but for an origin in a play where Phalaris was a leading figure.

Leaving this point with its proper indication of uncertainty, let us see if we can get any further support for our thesis. We are assuming the existence of a Greek play in which Phalaris is the leading figure, but of which we do not appear to have any notice in the Greek literature. Our only Phalaris literature is the fictitious correspondence which Bentley made himself immortal in analysing, and the supposed speeches of the tyrant in Lucian. It is precisely from this apocryphal literature that we learn of the existence of tragedies in which Phalaris figures. It is true that they are made out to be contemporary attacks on Phalaris, and Bentley has shown that such tragedies could not have existed at that time of day, and that the correspondence itself is the artificial product of the Hellenistic age: but the references

are at least sufficient to prove the existence of Greek tragedy in which Phalaris figures.

For example, in Ep. 63 addressed to Aristolochus, we have the following allusions to tragedy of the order indicated above: I quote for convenience from Francklin's translation (a very free and easy rendering, which will, however, serve our purpose):—

"If, because I freely pardoned Stesichorus, whom I had taken prisoner, *you think that you may safely write tragedies against me*, believing I must of course treat all poets with the same lenity, you are greatly mistaken; for I do by no means admire all poets, but good ones only: nor forgive all enemies, but (only) the most brave and honourable: whilst you, who are both a vile poet and a contemptible enemy, would most impudently set yourself on a level with Stesichorus in parts and courage. But you shall quickly discern the difference; *not because you have aspersed me in your verses* (for I were the lowest of mankind if such trash could any ways affect me), but for daring to think yourself of the same honour and regard as Stesichorus." The translation is, as we said, a very free one; the "trash" referred to is in the original δράματα!

Here the false epistle is an expansion of the theme which tradition furnished, that Phalaris the tyrant forgave Stesichorus who had written verses against him. According to the author of the Epistles, Aristolochus as well as Stesichorus had been guilty of anti-Phalaris tragedies. Tragedy against Phalaris is assumed as a theme by the epistolographer.

The same thing occurs again in Ep. 97, as follows:—

To Lysinus.

"Will there never, then, O Lysinus, be an end to thy rashness? O thou most foolish of men; at thirty years of age to have no more regard to thyself than thus to provoke an enemy so much thy superior; *still continuing to write tragedies* (ἔτι καὶ τραγῳδίας) *against me*, as if such things could give me the least uneasiness! But take heed to thyself of an end more cruel *than any tragedy* thou couldst ever invent."

Here again the existence of tragedy in which Phalaris is the central figure is assumed; we may add the name of Lysinus to those of Aristolochus and Stesichorus.

The author of the Epistles of Phalaris is then in evidence for the existence of anti-Phalaris tragedies. They are constantly used as motives in his somewhat jejune compositions.

Let us, then, assume that the author of *III Maccabees* had access to such a tragedy, and borrowed from it. Can we find out anything more about the contents? If we look more closely at the text of the fifth chapter of *III Maccabees*, we shall see in the critical apparatus an extraordinary expansion on the part of one of the cursive MSS. (No. 64) at the end of the twenty-ninth verse. It runs as follows :—

"While King Ptolemy was now recognising, under the influence of the sting of Divine Providence, that he ought to pity the Jewish nation, and was eager for the future to release them, and was counselled thereto by the marvels which had occurred in their case, the company of his friends and princes were displeased and took it very ill. And one of the most honourable among them, named Hermon, who was also a foster-brother (σύντροφος) of the King, ventured to say: Did you not, O King, make the plot against them from the first in these particulars? Take and read what you formerly wrote about them. For, with a wise foresight against their becoming naturally hostile behind our backs through their agreement with our adversaries, on that account you made at the first those decrees which you do not now recognise, and which you seek to subvert. By no means, O King: but let us carry out the vote which was so well brought forward against them, and by bringing on the elephants let us fulfil the intention (πρόθεσιν) which you had formed against them from the first."

It is usual to discard all of this as a scribe's gloss, and certainly it presents, at first glance, a good deal of difficulty. A new Hermon is introduced, apparently not the keeper of the elephants, but a foster-brother and intimate friend of the King. We have already had many references to Hermon in the previous chapter, and now we are told of some one, Hermon was his name, who gives the King very frank advice and further encouragement in the persecution of the Jews. It looks as if his name ought not to be Hermon at all. But then, at the close of his speech, he says, "Let *us* bring on the elephants"; which looks as if it were the very same Hermon. In that case, in spite of the statement that Hermon was the name of the speaker, the story ought to be genuine. Its omission is easily accounted for: the sentence just before

had ended with the word *πρόθεσιν* ; the sentence which Cod. 64 adds *ends with the same word.* Then it might easily happen that the added matter was dropped by an error of the eye.

But here is another extraordinary bit of evidence in favour of the restoration of the missing matter ; Hermon is here said to be a foster-brother of the King. If we look a little further forward in the text we find that in v. 32 the King says that "if it had not been that I love you *as my foster-brother* (*διὰ τὴν τῆς συντροφείας στοργήν*), and because of the exigencies of the situation, you should have paid for this speech with your life" (reading *συντροφείας* for *συστροφείας* of the Alexandrian MS.).

Here the explanation is required that Hermon was foster-brother of the King, and we see why it occurs as a statement three verses earlier. Shall we not then be justified, for the reasons set forth, in regarding the expansion of the cursive MS. No. 64 as a part of the true text ? It illuminates and clears the context, and its omission is palæographically explicable. We shall still be in difficulty with the duality of Hermon. Why should the keeper of the elephants in the first part of the story become the King's foster-brother at the end of it, and almost his prime minister ? There is not, however, a single person mentioned in the story among the royal party except Hermon. The explanation probably lies in the sources which *III Maccabees* is using : the elephants are certainly not a part of the tragedy on which he was working ; he has lugged them in by their broad ears, and set Hermon, who was in the tragedy, to look after them. Later on he wanted Hermon for another purpose, the modification of the King's rage, and the transfer of responsibility from his heavily weighted shoulders : the theme is constant in the Phalaris literature. Probably, then, Hermon was in the original tragedy, and figured there as the foster-brother and evil-counsellor of the tyrant.

We have now gone quite far enough into the field of conjecture, and had better return to our text and see if we can pick up any more iambics from the missing tragedy or from Greek literature elsewhere. In this quest I shall have the assistance of my friends T. R. Glover and A. B. Cook. They know a piece of a trimeter when they see it. When we read the composition with our eyes open to the possibility of extracts and refrains from Greek tragedy, we find to our surprise a multitude of expressions which appear to be metrical

in form and the product of metrical necessity. Suppose we turn to the fourth chapter: we stumble almost at once on such sequences or possible restorations as

IV. 4.

ἄδηλον τοῦ βίου καταστροφήν,
– – τὴν δυσάθλιον ἐξαποστολήν,

IV. 6.

αἱ δ' ἀρτὶ γαμικὴν πρὸς βίου κοινωνίαν
ὑπελήλυθυῖαι παστάδας νεανίδες,
⌈οἰκτροὺς⌉ μετέβαλον ἀντὶ τέρψεως γόους.
κόνει δὲ ⌈πλοκάμους⌉ μυροβρεχεῖς πεφυρμέναι,
⌈τοὺς βοστρύχους⌉ σκυλμοῖσιν ἐσπαραγμέναι,
ἤγοντ' ⌈ἀκαλυφεῖς⌉, ἀντὶ δ' ὑμεναίων ⌈βόης⌉
ἐξῆρχον, ὡς εἰς πλοῖα δεσμίαι βίᾳ,
ἀντὶ στέφεων δὲ περιπεπλεγμέναι βρόχους
εἵλκοντο . . . . . .
. . . . . .
διῆγον ἐν θρηνοῖσιν ἡμέραν γάμων,
ἤδη τὸν ᾅδην παρὰ πόδας ⌈θεώμενοι⌉.
σιδηροδεσμοῖσιν δὲ θηρίων τρόπον,
ἤγοντ' ἀναγκαῖς[1] καὶ κατησφαλισμέναι
πέδαισιν ἀρρήκτοισιν.[2]

Now if we consider this longer restored passage in relation to the text that is operated on, it becomes perfectly clear that a metrical narrative underlies the text of *Third Maccabees* in this chapter. There will, naturally, be some divergence in the work of restoration according to the taste of the critical artist; but the result will not vary widely from Mr. T. R. Glover's suggestions which are involved in the foregoing. The additions and modifications made in the text are slight. We are able, at certain points, to correct misunderstandings on the part of the Apocryphal writer, as, for example, when σκυλμοῖς has been read as σκύμνοις, and so an expletive was required as to the *heathen dogs*

[1] (*cf. Prom. Vinct.*, 6). ἀνάγκαις ταῖσδ' ἐνέζευγμαι τάλας·

[2] (*cf. Prom. Vinct.*, 108). ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν ἐν ἀρρήκτοις πέδαις·

The passage is interesting because Milton also imitated it:—

In adamantine chains and penal fire
Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms.

that tore the poor victims. (We note, however, that the cursive MSS. show that *σκυλμοῖς* is probably the true reading, in which case the expletive has come in by another route : in any case, it does not belong to the original document.) In certain cases, as in reading *μεταβαλοῦσαι* for *μεταλαβοῦσαι* we have the support of the cursive MSS., and so acquire a better basis for intelligent restoration. When we have settled the approximate metrical form from which the text of *III Maccabees*, verse 6, is derived, we conjecture, readily enough, that the original dramatic sequence that has been utilised is a scene from the capture of Troy, or some similar situation. Indeed, it must be Troy, for we read almost immediately, that the wretched Jews were sent off in ships, and the motive for this is plain enough historically. So we go back to verse 2 and restore *Τρῶσι* for *Ἰουδαίοις* ; the text tells us that the Jews were to be sent off into banishment (*εἰς ἐξαποστολήν*) : one thinks at once of the Trojan women and the reason appears for the introduction of the wailing women and brides, with their torn hair and plucked off veils in the sixth verse. Let us see whether, from this point of visual advantage, we can now, with Mr. Glover's aid, restore the rest of the fourth verse. Here we may suggest as follows :—

ὥστε τῶν ἐχθρῶν τινές
ἐν ὄμμασίν τ' ἔχοντες ἐξάλλους ⌈τύχας⌉
καὶ τὴν ἄδηλον τοῦ βίου καταστροφήν
⌈νοοῦντες⌉, ἔλεον εἶχον, ἐξαποστολήν
⌈κλαίοντες⌉ αὐτῶν δάκρυσι τὴν δυσάθλιον.

The fifth verse describes the fate of the hapless old men who are hustled out of the city to the sea-shore, white-haired, bent double and stumbling as they go. The text of *III Maccabees* at this point is very uncertain, and the restoration is affected by the uncertainty : the cursive MSS. do not come to our aid as clearly as in some other cases. The following restoration suggests itself :—

γέρων
πολιᾷ πυκασθεὶς κἀπίκυφος ἤγετο
καὶ νωθρότητι τῶν ποδῶν ≍ – | ⏑ – ‖
ὁρμῇ βιαίας ἀνατροπῆς αἰδοῦς δίχα.

In all probability, then, verses 2-9 of the chapter before us are an adaptation from a Greek play, dealing with the capture of Troy.

In the fifth chapter we come to the supposed Phalaris fragment; whether we are right in the assumption of the existence of a Phalaris tragedy or not, it is quite evident that the chapter is strewn with metrical fragments, not necessarily the *disjecta membra* of a single poet, for the author is constantly dropping into metre, or employing half-disguised poetical language. We shall find, for instance, in the sixth chapter, that the pious Jew Eleazer, in a prayer which is conventional in form and Hebrew in substance, cannot avoid the rhythm of Greek poetry. He is in religion what "ancient Pistol" is in military life: he will be metrical or nothing (one wonders what Pistol would have perpetrated if he had prayed). Thus in VI. 12 we have an actual trimeter,

ὁ πᾶσαν ἀλκὴν καὶ δυναστείαν ἔχων

and in VI. 32 we easily restore

ἀνέλαβον ᾠδὴν πάτριον αἰνοῦντες θεόν

A similar effect is produced in VII. 16,

παμμέλεσιν ὕμνοις εὐχαριστοῦντες θεῷ·

The manner of the artist is sufficiently disclosed.

Our chief interest, however, is with the fourth and fifth chapters, where we have long tragic extracts recovered; the fourth chapter has been sufficiently explored; we return to the fifth and to Phalaris. In this chapter, Mr. A. B. Cook points out the following tragic phrases that catch the eye.

V. 2. δαψιλέσι δράκεσι (perhaps the original had the sing. δαψιλεῖ δράκει[1])

⏑ – | ⏑ πόματος ἀφθόνῳ χορηγιᾷ

5. οἵ τ' ἐξιόντες τὰς ταλαιπώρων χέρας (may be accidental)

6. σκέπης ἔρημοι

7. τὸν παντοκράτορα κύριον ⏑ – | ⏑ – (accidental?)

10. τοὺς ἀνηλεεῖς

11. ὕπνου μέρος
ἔστειλε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ⏑ – | ⏑ –

12. ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ καὶ βαθεῖ κατεσχέθη

13. ὥραν προσημανθεῖσαν – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

[1] Clearly not an ordinary prose word, for it is explained by Hesychius as τῆς παλάμης, τῆς χειρός.

13. ⏑ – | ⏑ – | τὸν εὐκατάλλακτον | ⏑ –
14. ⏑ – | ὁ πρὸς ταῖς κλήσεσιν τεταγμένος
14. ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ ἀθρόους κλητοὺς ἰδών
ἔνυξε
20. τὴν ὠμότητα χείρον' ἐσχηκὼς ἔφη (accidental ?)
21. ὁμοῦ συναινέσαντες εἰς οἶκον | ⏑ –
22. τὸ μηχανᾶσθαι τοῖς ταλαιπώροις | ⏑ –
24. ἤθροιστο πρὸς τὴν – | ⏑ – | θεωρίαν
26. ⏑ – | ⏑ οὔπω δ' ἡλίου ⏑ – | ⏑ –
βολαὶ κατεσπείροντο καὶ ⏑ – | ⏑ –
Ἕρμων παραστὰς – | ⏑ – | τὴν ἔξοδον
28. ⏑ – | ⏑ πάντα δεσποτεύοντος θεοῦ
28. ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ πρὶν μεμηχανημένον
30. ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ πληρωθεὶς χόλῳ
30. θεοῦ προνοίᾳ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –
30. διασκεδάσθαι πᾶν τὸ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –
31. The Phalaris passage, which Mr. Cook restores as follows :—

εἴ σοι γονεῖς παρῆσαν ἢ παίδων γοναί
τήνδ' ἀγρίαις ἂν δαψιλῆ θοίνην ⌈γνάθοις⌉
ἐσκεύασ' ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνεγκλήτων ἐμοί
καὶ τοῖσι προγόνοις ἀποδεδειγμένων ἀεί
πίστιν βέβαιαν ἐξοχῶς ⏑ – | ⏑ –

and notes that ἀγρίαις γνάθοις is found in Æsch., *Prom. vinct.*, 368 and *Chœph.*, 280. Ὁλοσχερῆ is evidently a late word which may be discarded, and for the order of the words note that one cursive MS. actually shows πίστιν βέβαιαν πίστιν (*sic*). If the Phalaris origin of the fragment were established, it might be proper to restore τοῦδε in the second line, sc. τοῦ ταύρου.

32. ἀπροσδόκητον κἀπικίνδυνον | ⏑ –
33. καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ – | ⏑ – | συνεστάλη
42. ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ θηρίων ᾐκισμένους
43. τὸν ἄβατον ἡμῖν ναὸν ἐν τάχει | ⏑ –
45. ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ πόμασιν εὐωδεστάτοις
47. ⏑ – | ἀτρώτῳ καρδίᾳ τε καὶ κόραις
49. ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ ὑστάτην βίου ῥοπήν
αὐτοῖς ἐκείνην – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –
49. ⏑ – | ἐς οἶκτον καὶ γόους ⏑ – | ⏑ –

49. γονεῖς τέκνοισι, μητέρες νεάνισιν
ἔτεραι νεογνὰ – | ⏑ πρὸς μαστοὺς βρέφη
ἔλκοντα – | ⏒ – | ⏓ τελευταῖον γάλα
51. ⏒ – | ⏑ ἤδη πρὸς πύλαις ᾄδου | ⏑ –

The foregoing metrical fragments show conclusively that the author of *III Maccabees* is familiar with the Greek tragic literature. Just as in the previous chapter we can see one particular play upon which he has been drawing. But this time it cannot be the *Fall of Troy* that furnished the material: it appears to be, as we stated at the first, a play in which Phalaris, or some similar tyrant, had the title-rôle, unless we find it a more suitable hypothesis that there was reference to Phalaris in some play which provoked the allusion.

Mr. Cook thinks it not impossible that Æschylus himself may be the author of the missing play in the fifth chapter. He reminds me that in 476 B.C., Hieron of Syracuse founded Ætna and invited Æschylus over for the occasion. He went there and he wrote the Αἰτναῖαι. Mt. Ætna had recently been in eruption and Æschylus gleaned on the spot the details of his description in *Prom. vinct.*, 351 ff. Again, Hieron heard of Æschylus' success with the *Persians* and invited the poet for a second time to Sicily. He went over and performed the play there between 472 and 468. Finally in 458 he left Athens, and withdrew to Gela where he lived till his death in 456. *Cf.* Athen., 402 c. :—

ὅτι δὲ Αἴσχυλος διάτριψας ἐν Σικελίᾳ πολλαῖς
κέχρηται φωναῖς Σικελικαῖς οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν

Mr. Cook infers accordingly that Æschylus had every opportunity of becoming familiar with the fame of Phalaris.

There will, perhaps, be objections raised to this. For example, Ptolemy, posing as Phalaris, says in our recovered fragment that the Jews (*quaere* originally Himeraeans or the like) had always been conspicuous for loyalty to himself and his *forbears*. It does not appear that Phalaris, according to the tradition, had any Sicilian forbears; perhaps, as a political adventurer, he had no predecessors at all. It does not, however, follow that the literary Hellenists who discoursed of Phalaris, or made him discourse of himself, took this view of his origin. Lucian, for example, makes Phalaris address the people of Delphi as one who belonged to the first families of Agrigentum, in which case a

reference to his predecessors would be quite in order. There is no need to decide the point of Phalaris' ancestors prematurely; in any case they are literary creations.

When we turn to the seventh chapter we find Ptolemy producing a rescript in the conventional manner on behalf of the Jews. He cannot, however, keep his hand off the poetry which he has worked over c. 4 and c. 5. The enemies of the Jews have dragged them down in bonds, pulling them by the hair, as if they were slaves (οἱ καὶ δεσμίους καταγαγόντες αὐτοὺς μετὰ σκύλμων ὡς ἀνδράποδα); the passage shows that we were right in reading σκύλμοις against the uncial MSS. In the next verse Ptolemy dismisses the persecutors of the Jews with their bare lives; μόγις τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῖς χαριζόμενοι which is an echo of ζῆν ἀντὶ τούτων ἐστερήθης ἄν or some similar arrangement of the previous text (e.g. σύ γ' ἀντὶ τούτων ἐστερήθης ἂν βίου). In the seventh verse he speaks of the constant goodwill of the Jews towards himself and his ancestors :—

> τήν τε τοῦ φίλου ἣν ἔχουσιν βεβαίαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς
> καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εὔνοιαν,

which is again an adaptation of the versified story in c. V. So we see that the metrical section on Phalaris was a sort of *pièce de résistance* to the author of *III Maccabees*.

At this point another difficulty emerges; we have pointed out that in two of Mr. Glover's cases of metrical fragment the text has been influenced by the *Prometheus Vinctus;* and when we examine more closely the lines to which we have attached the name of Phalaris, we find that the versifier, whoever he was, has been imitating the *Hecuba* of Euripides. Compare the sentence

> τήνδε θηρσὶν αγρίοις ἐσκεύασ' ἂν δαψιλῆ θοίναν

with

> θοίναν αγρίων τιθέμενος θηρῶν
> Eur., *Hec.*, 1073.

and the dependence of the former on the latter will be evident. This appears definitely to negative the idea that the Phalaris fragment can be due to Æschylus, as Mr. Cook suggested, unless it should be maintained that Euripides, whose diction is often Æschylean, got the phraseology of *Hec*, 1073 from Æschylus. It is the work of a

centoist, probably of the Hellenistic age. This does not mean that the fragment with which we started our inquiry may not belong to a Phalaris drama ; only if it does, it is a late drama belonging to an artificial school.

Reviewing the preceding arguments, we may claim that a number of fragments from Greek tragic literature are embedded in the *Third Book of Maccabees*. Of these, the principal are a fragment dealing with the *Fall of Troy* and another fragment dealing with the *Tyranny of Phalaris*. There are also traces of the use of the *Prometheus Vinctus* and the *Hecuba*.

MEDIÆVAL FORGERS AND FORGERIES.[1]

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THE criminal is with us throughout the ages. He is with us still, though in much reduced numbers, for the farther we go back in history the more criminals we find. In the middle ages the criminal class mustered strongly. Not only were mediæval criminals more numerous than their modern counterparts, but by reason of their numbers and importance they excited much more general sympathy than they do nowadays, and were as a rule dealt with by society in a more lenient manner. This was true both of crimes of violence and crimes of deceit. In these two typical classes of misdeeds homicides and forgeries easily took the first places. In the simple middle ages there were only two great classes of society which really counted. These were the knightly or warrior class, whose business in life was to fight, and the clerical or priestly class, whose special function was to pray, and which, besides its devotional duties, had the monopoly of all intellectual activities, clerical, literary, and academic. It is hardly going too far to say that homicide was the special misdeed of the former and forgery the particular peccadillo of the latter. Few self-respecting gentlemen passed through the hot season of youth without having perpetrated a homicide or two. It was almost the duty of the clerical class to forge. If it did not always commit culpable forgeries for its own particular interest, it forged, almost from a sense of duty, for the benefit of the society, the community, the house whose interests it represented.

To discourse upon the mediæval attitude to homicide would take me too far away from my present theme, which is mediæval forgers and forgeries. But I should wish to do justice to the particular type of misdoers with which I am now specially concerned. I would, therefore, suggest in passing that forgers were not the only class given to evil deeds in an age which, for all its lawlessness, presented also some

[1] An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 12th December, 1919.

of the purest and most exalted types of human excellence. But the saints were few and the sinners were many, and our chief concern will not be with the hardened criminal, who forged for his own personal gain, so much as with those who forged, so to say, as a habit, and whose acts suggested little or no criminality to contemporary opinion. For to mediæval eyes forgery in itself was hardly regarded as a crime. It was not, like homicide, punishable as such. Even in the good old dark ages, when you could atone for murder by paying down a lump sum proportioned to the wealth or social status of your victim, homicide as such was still considered to be a reprehensible offence. Forgery, on the other hand, hardly comes within the modest list of offences within which the mediæval mind limited its conception of a crime. It was natural to look indulgently on an offence to which so large a proportion of the educated population was addicted. To begin with, forgery was a misdeed that was necessarily limited to clerks, for few save clerks had the technical and linguistic skill necessary to forge documents. Accordingly, all practitioners of forgery had the "benefit of clergy," and could commit at least their first offence with the comparative impunity that followed from the sympathetic consideration of the church courts for the peccadillos of brother clerks and from their canonical restriction to punishments that did not involve either loss of life or limb. I do not, however, find that the church courts ever took any cognisance of forgery at all. The clerk addicted to forgery was in a doubly secure position.

Only some sorts of forgery were regarded by the law as criminal at all. The most notable of these were the forging the King's seal or the forging of a lord's seal by a member of his household. To appreciate the reason for this special condemnation of forging seals, we must remember that the seal was in the middle ages what a man's signature is nowadays. It was the normal way of authenticating his acts, and, provided always that he looked sharply after the custody of his seal, the most effective authentication in an age when everybody wrote very much alike, and when a great many men of substance wrote little or wrote with difficulty. But a knavish servant, familiar with the form and device of his lord's seal, might easily, with the exercise of a little ingenuity, procure the fabrication of a counterfeit to it. Hence the law and public opinion agreed to reprobate very severely what was looked upon as a scandalous breach of trust. Forgery of seals then

stood in the middle ages where forgery of signatures stands nowadays. It was the particular sort of forgery most dangerous to society and therefore a clearly criminal offence.

For similar reasons certain analogous acts of forgery were included with the employment of false seals among the offences specially worthy of condemnation. Conspicuous among these were counterfeiting the king's money, issuing false coin, and shearing or defacing good coin. Such misdeeds, along with the falsification of seals, constituted the *falsoneria*, the special sort of forgery, which Henry's II's Assize of Northampton of 1176 put with murder and robbery in the category of offences which a later period would have called felony. A simpler age saw no reason, even in these cases, to impose a special penalty on forgery as such. It seemed easier to include them in the comprehensive category of treason. Accordingly the law punished offenders of this class as traitors rather than as felons. Forgers of seals and counterfeiters of coin could therefore, if they were men, be hanged, drawn and quartered, as traitors, or, if they were women, burnt at the stake, this latter being the special punishment of the female convicted of treason. Whatever the offence was called, the punishment did not fail in austerity. It was one of the compensations for general laxity in dealing with criminals that the few classes of offence that seemed most heinous should be dealt with with cruel and unrelenting severity.

As time went on, further restrictions were gradually drawn. They were enough to show that, apart from particular cases, the way of the mediæval forger was comparatively easy. In a well-known law book of the reign of Edward I forgery, even of the restricted sort we have described, was put in the catalogue of crimes after treason and before homicide.[1] Other cases of forgery were, however, regarded as among the injuries which could be indifferently treated as a civil or a criminal offence. Even the forging of a seal, which was not the seal of the king or of the forger's lord, was only considered as inflicting an "atrocious injury". It might be adequately requited, at the worst with perpetual infamy, the pillory, and the tumbrill or cucking-stool, the same punishment that was inflicted on bakers or brewsters who used false weights and measures or on such as sold putrid or half-cooked food.[2]

[1] Fleta, pp. 52-3, "De crimine falsi".

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 63, "De personalibus actionibus civilibus".

Recorded cases show, however, that the law courts showed more severity in practice than the law books laid down in theory. Thus under Henry III a Jew, named Moses son of Brown, was rash enough to bring an action for debt against the prior and convent of Dunstaple in Bedfordshire, and to produce in court, as evidence of the debt, a deed which purported to be evidence of a loan which he had made to the convent. The king's justices examined the deed and pronounced it a forgery. It was shown in evidence that the seal was not the proper current seal ; the canon, who had written every deed of the convent for forty years, swore that it did not come from his hands ; the parchment had been washed, and new and clumsy sentences, some containing bad grammar, had been substituted for the original writing. In short the astute Moses had made use of another Dunstaple deed, deposited with him as a pledge, and had "cooked it up," rather unskilfully, to represent something quite different from what it was originally. His own examination proved far from satisfactory. The upshot was that the justices put Moses into the Tower, and it was expected that in due course he would have been hanged. However, his coreligionists bribed the king so heavily that the culprit was allowed to abjure the realm.[1]

A Christian forger of the same period could get off much more lightly. There was a petty dispute between six modest heiresses and their husbands as to the division of their father's little estate of eighteen acres of land, in Warwickshire. One of the happy couples sought in addition to its modest share to prove its claim to a virgate of land which the husband said had been given to him, not on his marriage, as the other side averred, but eight years earlier on the simple condition of homage. "Then," so runs the record, "he produced a deed in proof of his claim. And the deed was viewed and it was seen to be false, because the wax of the seal was not three years old. It was, therefore, pronounced invalid and the claimant was kept in custody. Afterwards he came and acknowledged the forgery, and allowed that the virgate of land held by him ought to be added to the land to be divided." As no more is heard of him, this judicious recognition of guilt seems to have secured him his release, and in addition

[1] *Ann. Dunstaple*, pp. 66. Compare Cole's *Records*, p. 312. This was in 1221.

all that he had any right to get out of the estate.[1] Christians apparently were harder to hang than Jews, even when they had not the wherewithal to bribe their judges.

The lenient treatment of the forger, who did not by forging commit treason, was enhanced by the fact that he was not apparently indicted for making or using a forged seal with the intention of defrauding, but for producing a document so authenticated in a court of justice and basing his case upon it. The production in court of the forged seal corresponded to the intent to defraud of modern codes. There seems no evidence of a forger convicted or even indicted of a forgery as such. While the common law was hazy, the statute law was silent. It was not until the reign of Henry V that a civil remedy against forgery was given by statute. Under Elizabeth the law was stiffened up. The forger was to be fined, imprisoned, put in the pillory, to have his ears cut off, and his nostrils slit and to lose his land. This takes us back to the state of things under Edward I. At last, in the reign of Charles I, forgery at last became felony without benefit of clergy, and therefore a capital offence. It is a curious instance of the late middle ages being more easy going than Angevin times. Can clerical immunities have had this effect? Was it left for the Reformation to restore the offence to its old position? Was this one of the last surrenders of a sometime clerical privilege?

We get nearer the heart of our subject when we turn our backs on the law of forgery and proceed to interrogate the motives of the forgers. Here the field becomes at once infinitely wider, for the chief sorts of fabrication with which we shall have to deal are those whose origin was not specifically criminal in the legal, and often not even in the moral sense. Let us begin by distinguishing forged documents from the point of view of the motives of the forgers.

Many mediæval forgeries have their roots in nothing worse than vanity. A church or a family was anxious to prove its origin was more ancient than it really was, and to claim as its founder or ancestor one of the great names of old. If this reason inspired many forgeries in the case of Benedictine abbeys and noble families, whose real antiquity was quite respectable, it was still more strongly operative in the case of parvenu institutions or individuals who could boast of no such glorious past. Now Universities, which only began in the twelfth

[1] *Bracton's Note Book*, ed. Maitland, II, 715-16.

century, were such parvenu institutions. Yet by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they had acquired such a strong position that it seemed impossible to imagine that there had ever been a time when such noble foundations had had no existence, and unfilial on the part of their members not to seek out their roots in remote antiquity. Thus the University of Paris claimed Charles the Great as its founder, and Oxford, not to be outdone, found its origin in the schools of Alfred the Great. Cambridge went one better and traced itself back to King Arthur or to a Spanish prince named Cantaber, whose date is somewhat vaguely indicated. But this lie is, like the fame of Cambridge, post mediæval.

Family vanity was even more active a motive for forgery than institutional *esprit de corps*. The false pedigree-maker is still with us, and there have been few families that have arisen to sudden distinction or opulence that have not called in his services. Gross lies were told in genealogical matters in the middle ages, but the mediæval magnate had seldom the practical motives which in more modern times have induced the numerous new men, who have arrived, to buy pedigrees or armorial bearings from heralds or family portraits or even ancestral tombs from unscrupulous purveyors of mock antiquities. Accordingly it is rather in later centuries, when social conditions were more fluid than in the middle ages, that false genealogies became most common. It may perhaps be permitted to warn the fabricator of bogus pedigrees not to go further back in history than respectability requires. It is very difficult for even the greatest experts to concoct a specious mediæval pedigree. Let such as would attempt it, read and digest the diverting exposition by Mr. J. H. Round of the attempts of two different prosperous families, whose chief link of connection was the common enjoyment of the respectable name of Smith, to claim descent from a mythical standard-bearer of Richard Cœur de Lion.[1] But all these attempts, whether mediæval or modern, generally break down by reason of their being too interesting. They are too lavish in their imagination ; they give too many picturesque details ; they suggest the quickly recurring incidents of a melodrama or a novel, rather than the drab-coloured and unstimulating history which too commonly arises from the meticulous study of the authentic records of the past.

[1] J. H. Round, *Peerage and Pedigree*, II, 134-257.

Sometimes the mediæval forger forged from love of country rather than from the narrower sentiment of pride in house or family. "Reasons of State" have led governments—and that not in mediæval times only—to employ whole armies of skilful forgers to demonstrate their claims against an enemy or confuse him with false news. Philip the Fair instigated the fabrication of a papal bull designed to hold up to popular opprobrium the policy of Boniface VIII. A king of Naples caused the forgery of the bull of another pope which professed to separate Italy from the Empire. The appetite for forging grew upon what it fed on. Such experts in deceit naturally turned their skill to their own private profit. Thus we find that officials of a chancery were willing for a consideration to forge deeds in the interest of private persons as well as for the good of the state. There was a famous case where a ruffianly count of Armagnac bribed a papal official to draw up in his favour a papal bull authorising him to marry his own sister. Such a bull was authentic to all outward appearances; its defect was that it was entirely unauthorised by the authority from which it professed to emanate. There is hardly a state in Europe in which similar scandals did not occur from time to time.

Sometimes it remains a matter of controversy whether private enterprise or official deceit inspired famous forgeries. The most notorious mediæval forgery, the Donation of Constantine, the act by which Constantine retired to his new capital on the Bosporus leaving Rome clear for the papal autocracy, enriched by the grant of imperial lands, was certainly devised in the interests of the papacy, though the time, place, and manner of its fabrication are far from being cleared up. But it was the private enterprise of some enemies of the Roman lawyers at Oxford that caused the concoction of a pretended bull, excluding doctors of civil law from all ecclesiastical benefices and prohibiting the teaching of Roman law in all countries which were under the customary law of feudalism. These forgers had the effrontery to publish this document during the lifetime of the very pope, Innocent IV, whose name they had taken in vain. In such cases professional zeal and personal gain worked hand in hand in the work of deception.

Some mediæval forgeries were almost entirely innocent of any intent to deceive, and many forged documents contain facts that are substantially correct. Pedantic love of the letter, and meticulous insistence on traditional forms combined to make forgery almost a laud-

able, altogether a necessary act. Of this type is the large class of copies which the custom of the early middle ages required should imitate in handwriting and technique the method of the originals, and which have often been so dexterously executed that it requires all the skill of the trained modern expert in diplomatic to distinguish between the copy, and the original. By the twelfth century these *copies figurées*, as the French call them, cease to have any importance. But lapse of time, war, neglect and fraud had caused the disappearance of many originals, so that the only evidence of a grant might well be a late copy, written out along with a large number of other charters in one of those valuable but puzzling collections called *cartularies*. When the establishment of orderly states with organised chanceries, or writing offices, arose, it was the interest of all individuals or communities, that had no original deeds to prove their rights, to seek from the king or prince an official confirmation of their possessions to which their claim had thus become questionable. This was the more so since many ancient estates were never, so far as we know, granted to their holders by any written instrument at all. They were what in England was called *folkland*, land held by the evidence of common knowledge, the witness of the people, as opposed to *bookland*, land held by virtue of a charter, or deed of grant. But an age which asked for title deeds grew suspicious of a title vouched by no written record. Just as our Edward I demanded in his writs of *quo warranto* that the lords of franchises should produce the warranty by which they held their liberties, so might any reigning prince well ask of a vassal or of an ancient house of religion their evidence that the lands they held really belonged to them. Now English law of the later middle ages provided an easy method of strengthening a doubtful title. On production of an old charter, it received from chancery confirmation under the great seal. But the officials of the chancery required the applicant for a charter of confirmation to produce the original of a charter that for some reason he wished to have confirmed. The process was so easy and so common that in the earliest tariff of chancery fees that is of record—it goes back to 1199—there was a much larger fee charged for a charter of confirmation than for a charter of grant.[1]

[1] *Foedera*, I, 75-6. The "simple confirmation to which nothing new is added" seems to have cost something like one-ninth of the "new charter of feoffment of lands and liberties".

The result was that the chancery rolls, both charter and patent rolls, are full of charters of confirmation, reciting various charters which the king had inspected and which he confirmed and strengthened by his own authority. Charters of this sort are called charters of *inspeximus* in England and of *vidimus* in France. But the inspection or view demanded the production of the original that was to be recited. What was to be done if no original was forthcoming? It may have been that no charter had ever existed: that the grant had been oral or traditional. It may have been that the original had been lost, stolen, or destroyed. In some such cases there was no record of it: in most there would be a copy in some chartulary of later date. But the pedantic bureaucrat—government officials in the middle ages were generally pedantic—would not look at anything but an original. If then the original did not exist, it had to be made. The applicant for a charter then had to make a false original which he naturally strove to make as real to look at as his knowledge and skill allowed. He, therefore, copied out from his cartulary the document in a hand which seemed to him like the hand of other early documents in his possession. He cut off the seal from some document that he did not regard as being of any great use to him, and clapped it on to the charter that was to be produced before the chancery clerks. But mediæval man, though excessively ingenious, learned, and plausible, was almost altogether lacking in the rudiments of a historic sense. To him as to the modern peerage lawyer or to some sorts of modern politicians, who have sometimes begun life as peerage lawyers, history presented a flat, plane surface. He could not understand that each age has its particular forms and technicalities. He knew best those of his own age, and he imagined that what he found in the document he was most familiar with belonged to all time. He was a reformer too in his way and wanted his charter to be up to date. He was, therefore, in all innocence prone to copy out the technical forms in vogue in his own age. And the methods which innocence might adopt from sheer lack of historic sense, art and fraud, could also appropriate from entire ignorance of how things were really done in remote ages. In both sorts of cases the officials were easily taken in. The chancery clerk accepted with a light heart the documents set before him, and, having pocketed his big fees, cheerfully wrote them out in the confirmatory *inspeximus* and *vidimus*. The law courts were more

careful, but even these were liable to be deceived. It was only the clumsiest of practitioners, like Moses son of Brown, or the Warwickshire couple, whose adventures we have described, that could be easily convicted of their gross and palpable frauds. Thus the innocent falsifier runs into the fraudulent deceiver, and thus in dismissing the motives of the mediæval forger we have drifted imperceptibly into the process by which such falsifications were perpetrated. I would willingly dwell at length on the methods of mediæval falsification, both in their innocent and guilty aspects. But the subject is a big one, and all that can be done here is to make a few desultory remarks upon it.

There was no lack of skill and cunning in the mediæval forger. He knew how to erase the writing from ancient parchments and rewrite them in a feigned archaic hand. He showed marvellous intelligence in the manipulation of authentic seals and in their transference to surreptitious documents. He was clever enough to cut the wax, or lead, into two thin slices with a sharp knive and introduce new attachments of parchment, silk, or leather, so that it could be affixed to a new document, the sides being carefully heated up so that the two halves could again be fastened innocently together. If the original, after all his care, still remained suspicious, he could always conveniently lose it and produce a confessedly modern copy, plus evidence from those who had seen and handled the original. No doubt the English Chancery's insistence on the production of an original was based upon fraudulent attempts of this sort.

Just as in mediæval warfare the art of defending fortresses was superior to the art of attacking them, so in the sword play of wits, to which mediæval forgeries gave occasion, the art of fabricating spurious documents was more advanced than the critical gifts which the age possessed for detecting literary impostures. Yet we must not assume that there was no mediæval criticism, and that it was left to moderns to apply the rules of common sense and evidence to bring the forger to book. So early as the ninth century a knavish bishop of Le Mans was convicted of forging charters to the detriment of the rights of the abbey of Saint Calais. A letter of Innocent III explained to the chapter of Milan with admirable lucidity why a false bull, presented to them, was suspicious in style and handwriting, and the artful way in which a genuine seal had been adopted for the service of the spurious document. The pope's letter is quite a little treatise on the rules for

detecting forged documents.[1] Again in the early fourteenth century a French dominican, Bernard Gui, employed in the criticism of suspicious documents principles which, as M. Delisle says, no modern scholar would disavow. And a little later the letter in which Petrarch explained to the emperor Charles IV that there was no warranty for believing that Julius Cæsar and Nero had conferred any privileges on the house of Austria is a model essay on diplomatic criticism.

It must, however, be admitted that in our period the critics are the exceptions to the general rule of unthinking credulity. And there were good reasons for the ordinary man desiring to evade the responsibility of detecting forgeries, emanating from or patronised by persons of position. Such great persons, such powerful societies, were accomplices in falsification that it required a rare share of public spirit for a humble critic to expose too coarsely their methods of manipulating documents. There is no more respectable name among the archbishops of Canterbury than that of Lanfranc. He was a statesman, a scholar, a jurist, and a divine. At one time at least of his life he was enough of an enthusiast to forsake a promising worldly career as a lawyer to take the monastic vows in the poverty-stricken and austere house of Bec. Yet this eminent dignitary of the church did not scruple to facilitate his triumph over the rival metropolitan of York in 1072 by an elaborate series of forgeries,[2] which, it is suspected, must have been of his own fabrication. And the falsification was the less necessary, since justice seems to have been substantially on Lanfranc's side.

Thus forgery ran rampant all through the middle ages. It was largely undetected; still more largely unpunished. A decent anonymity veils from our eyes the names of the best practitioners of the art, whether they forged from malice or tradition, or simply for forgery's sake, from that sheer delight in clever mystification which marks the forger who has a share of that artistic temperament which was assuredly not rare in the middle ages. There is no wonder that when the great scholars of the seventeenth century, the first men who, standing outside the middle ages, seriously attempted to understand mediæval conditions, had got well warmed to their work, they found themselves baffled and confused by the enormous proportion of forged, remade, confected, and

[1] Baluze, *Epistolae Innocentii III*, I, 101.

[2] H. Böhmer, *Die Fälschungen Erzbischop Lanfranks von Canterbury*, Leipzig, 1902.

otherwise mutilated documents with which they had to deal. The Protestants easily explained this by a reference to the blind days of popery and monkery ; but orthodox " religious," devoted sons of the Roman Church, experienced the same difficulties and suggested, though in different phrasing, the same answer to their questionings. Conspicuous among these was a Jesuit, Daniel van Papenbroeck, who had been for twenty years director of the great Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, a many-volumed collection of lives of saints, which the Bollandist Jesuits were publishing at Antwerp, which has been in course of issue ever since and is not yet finished. Papenbroeck was so puzzled how to treat the great structures of pious fraud that surrounded the early history of ancient monasteries and the lives of their saintly founders, that he came to the rash conclusion that all documents contained in ancient cartularies were deliberate falsifications by eleventh century monks and that the older they were the more likely were charters to be suspicious. To prove his case, he made special reference to a set of more than suspicious charters of the royal abbey of Saint Denis, near Paris.

This aroused the whole Benedictine order against the upstart Jesuit, who had, with an audacity transcending that of the worst of heretics, questioned the sacred sources of early monasticism. The limitations of Papenbroeck's scholarship made it easy to deal with his strangely sweeping and unscientific generalisations. Unluckily for the Bollandist, and luckily for historic science, his tractate provoked an answer from John Mabillon, a Benedictine monk of that wonderful congregation of Saint Maur, which had begun to pour forth from the Parisian abbey of Saint Germain-des-Près the admirable collection of works of mediæval erudition that have to this day retained much of their value. In 1681, only six years after the attack on the authenticity of monastic charters, Mabillon issued his crushing answer to Papenbroeck in his great work *De re diplomatica*, wherein he not only completely demolished the poor Jesuit but laid down the general lines of the modern science of *diplomatic* by indicating the general principles by which the authenticity of mediæval documents must be tested. This book marks a turning-point in the history of scholarship, the beginning of modern historical criticism. It has suggested the lines on which subsequent scholars have built up the scientific criticism of ancient documents, how to distinguish between the true and the false. If the rules of modern diplomatic are now more vigorous than

these of Mabillon, he nevertheless laid its foundations with extraordinary surety and skill. It is a pleasing conclusion of the story to know that Papenbroeck was among the first of Mabillon's converts. "I assure you," wrote this magnanimous soul to Mabillon, "that my only consolation for having written upon this subject is that I have given you an opportunity to write your book. Do not hesitate to say publicly, whenever you have a chance to do so, that I am now entirely of your way of thinking."

Up to now I have been giving you generalities. But example is better than precept, and I should like to illustrate the general nature of the falsification of mediæval documents by telling you in some detail the story of two of the most notorious forgeries of mediæval documents. Both of these cases involve not merely the fabrication of a single document. Both are on a scale that in each instance runs to the size of a moderate volume. One is a late fourteenth century forgery of an alleged early twelfth century history: the other is an eighteenth century fabrication of an imaginary fourteenth century original. Both were generally accepted as authentic: both have been abundantly proved to be absolute and complete fabrications. Yet they have been so long used by numerous writers that a generation ago there was hardly a textbook that did not swallow wholesale the lies of these writers. Even nowadays historical sanitary science has its work cut out to destroy the extraordinarily tenacious microbes, which breed so readily that they are still liable to infect the pure wells of history. For that reason I am emboldened to tell once more the tales of deceit involved in the *Historia Crowlandensis*, the history of Crowland Abbey, by the false Ingulf, and the tractate *De Situ Britanniae*, by the pseudo Richard of Cirencester.

Half-way between Peterborough and Spalding, on the right bank of the Welland, amidst the fens and marshes of the Lincolnshire Holland, the little abbey town of Crowland still preserves in the surviving portions of the monastic church and its unique triangular bridge relics of its former greatness. The religious history of the place begins when a noble anchorite, St. Guthlac, set up his solitary dwelling in this remote island of the fenland, early in the ninth century. Some time later, a monastery arose to commemorate his memory, but when and how we know not, for the early life of Guthlac tells us nothing of its existence. It is very likely that this obscure house was overwhelmed

by the Danish invasions of the ninth century, and restored on a firmer basis in the days of Edgar and Dunstan. It is certain that it assumed a new importance with the monastic revival that preceded and followed the Norman Conquest. As ruled by two English abbots in succession, in a time when most of the great houses of religion were in Norman hands, and as the tomb of the last of the English earls, Waltheof, Crowland Abbey had a particular attraction to the English in the generation after the Norman Conquest. The second of these English abbots, Ingulf, combined with English birth, discipline in a French monastery, and service in the court of William the Conqueror as one of his scribes. His abbacy was chiefly marked by a disastrous fire that destroyed many of the books and records of the house. On Ingulf's death in 1109, Geoffrey, a monk of Saint-Evroult in Normandy, was appointed his successor and set to work to reconstitute the history and traditions of the house. With this object he invited to Crowland a brother monk of Saint-Evroult, called Ordericus Vitalis, who, like Ingulf, was a monk of English birth and Norman training. Orderic the Englishman was probably already busy in preparing his great ecclesiastical history which was to give him enduring fame. He spent five weeks at Crowland in 1115 and afterwards wrote down in his history all that we really know of the history of the abbey up to his date.[1] He also, perhaps, wrote down a little more than the truth, for his record contains the substance of a charter, "sealed with the seal" of Ethelbald, King of the Mercians, recording certain grants to the church, made when that king visited Guthlac. By it Ethelbald granted the holy man a wide extent of lands, five miles to the east, three to the west, two to the north, and two to the south of the site of the saint's home. Besides this there is a charter of Thurketil, the refounder of the abbey, making large gifts from his own patrimony, "sealed with the seal of the most strenuous King Edgar". Here we are in the beginning of the Crowland forgeries, for though early grants to the monastery are certain, and many of the lands enumerated in Thurketil's charters are recorded in Domesday as the ancient domains of the abbey even before the days of Edward the Confessor, it is curious that Ethelbald of Mercia and Edgar the Peaceful should seal charters with their seal, after the fashion which only came with Edward the Confessor

[1] Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 268-90. Ed Le Prevost, Société de l'Histoire de France.

and William I. It is strange too that Ethelbald, visiting Crowland as king, should have made grants to Guthlac who died before that event took place. But there is little impossible in the substance of the charters, were it not that the later history of Crowland makes us suspicious. On the face of it, it looks as if Geoffrey the abbot had imported his old friend from Saint-Evroult to write up the history of the abbey and had unloaded on him as much information, apocryphal and other, as he had thought he was likely to assimilate. There is no reason for imagining that Orderic was not acting in good faith. Indeed there is no special reason for imputing any grave criminality to the abbot. It was a time when every monastery was investigating its claims to its lands. What more natural, if the Danes or the floods had destroyed title deeds, than that the friends of the house should do their best to reconstitute the vanished past? And, reconstitution once allowed, it was best to make a good job of it. So the dutiful monks of Crowland set themselves to work to follow the example of Lanfranc, their metropolitan. We may note, however, for future reference that, according to Orderic, neither Thurketil nor Ingulf wrote histories themselves. All that Ingulf had to do with books was to witness the burning of the abbey library.

We must now jump on for three centuries in the history of Crowland. About the reign of Richard II, there seems to have been another wave of tendency towards substantiating the claims of the monks to the lands in their possession. Drainage was turning some of their fens into good pasture and arable lands, and estates long waterlogged and useless were beginning to yield good commercial profits. Monasteries no longer held the same strong position in the public eye that they had held in Norman days. The king was casting a greedy eye on the temporalities of the church: the local lords were envying the church that was dressed out in the feathers of other birds; Wycliffe and the friars preached the same doctrine of apostolic poverty, though with somewhat different applications. It was, therefore, high time that the "possessioner" monks should disturb themselves or they would have nothing left to possess. Late fourteenth century Crowland was not particularly scrupulous. For instance, in 1384 there was need to investigate a charge of brigandage brought against the abbot John by a Northampton merchant, who complained that the abbot and a band of followers, "after long lying in wait" took him prisoner, shut him

up in a castle, and treated him so austerely that he was compelled to pay a fine of 40s. "for his greater ease in prison," and his friends were reduced to drawing up a bond for £200 to be paid for his release. Yet "notwithstanding this, the abbot and his associates kept the poor merchant in prison at Northampton" until the unlucky trader was himself compelled to enter into a similar writing for £300 "to keep them indemnified towards the abbot and they now threaten to take and imprison him again."[1] What truth lay in these charges I know not, but the story suggests an atmosphere of Greek or Sicilian brigandage, organised on as business-like a scale as that of Hadgi-Stavros in Edmond About's delightful *Roi des Montagnes*.

Crimes of violence jostled with crimes of deceit. Ten years later the Patent Rolls recite how, in 1393, King Richard had inspected the charter of Ethelbald, King of the Mercians, dated 716, and a charter of Edred, King of England, dated 948, in favour of the abbot and convent of Crowland, and had duly ordered their confirmation.[2] We have seen that to produce such a confirmation an original had to be produced, sufficiently specious to be acceptable to the clerks of the chancery. We know, then, that the forger was already at work. To make assurance doubly sure, he obtained from the new king, Henry IV, a new *inspeximus* and a confirmation of the *inspeximus* of the dethroned Richard.[3] Nevertheless enough had not yet been done to safeguard the abbey property. There was a particular danger from its northern neighbours, the prior and monks of Spalding, whose claims had always clashed with those of Crowland, and whose power was now enhanced by the transference of the crown to the house of Lancaster, which, as earls of Lincoln, claimed the lordship of Spalding as part of the honour of Bolingbroke. If John of Gaunt, as duke, had been a thorn in the side of Crowland, his son, as king, might well do it more grievous harm. A fierce dispute in the law courts about 1413 brought things to a crisis. In the hope of thoroughly confounding their rivals at Spalding, Crowland put forth its final effort in forgery. The earlier falsified documents were carefully strengthened by a whole crowd of fictitious charters; they were strung together in a continuous and picturesque narrative; the whole was given to the world as the

[1] *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1381-5*, p. 421. [2] *Ibid., 1391-6*, p. 300.
[3] *Ibid., 1399-1401*, p. 76.

History of Crowland, and this false history was fathered on the abbot Ingulf. Finally, as an afterthought, the false Ingulf has a forged continuation which is assigned to a writer of the age of Henry II, Peter of Blois.

The early history of the fraud is obscure, but from the sixteenth century onwards it became generally accepted. It was quoted under Elizabeth to prove that Cambridge University was flourishing in Norman times. In the seventeenth century it deceived most of the antiquaries and historians, including such great scholars as Dugdale and Spelman. The note of warning was sounded by the learned Henry Wharton, and Hickes, the English Mabillon, declared strongly that the charters were forgeries. Gibbon sneered at its statement that Ingulf studied at Oxford books of Aristotle, not known at that time in Europe. But all the literary historians, from Hume downwards, eagerly adopted its picturesque purple patches. While good chroniclers have not to this day found an English translater, the pseudo-Ingulf was done into the vernacular time after time. The long series of apocryphal charters are solemnly set forth in the last edition of the *Monasticon*. The local historian, the guide-book writer, the text-book maker all made Ingulf his own. When the nineteenth century found him out, and a crowd of scholars, Palgrave, Riley, Liebermann, Searle, published conclusive demolitions of his statements, the pseudo-Ingulf still kept some conscious and more unconscious disciples. Less than forty years ago a scholar, officially attached to the British Museum, and supposed to be enough of an expert to edit the whole corpus of Anglo-Saxon charters, maintained that, though spurious in form, Ingulf's charters were reconstructions of original deeds and therefore contained much true history. It requires a faith greater than the faith that moves mountains to clear away the lofty pile of lies that has overwhelmed the good faith of the monks of Crowland.

That such doctrine can have been preached down to our own days is startling evidence that the science of Mabillon has not yet said its final word. But difficult as is the problem of separating the wheat from the chaff in the "remade" and "conflated" and otherwise doctored Norman and Saxon charters, it requires no very deep criticism to see that the pseudo-Ingulf is just a novel with a purpose, and that purpose fraud and deceit. To begin with, there is no manuscript of the chronicle older than the sixteenth century. The "autograph of Ingulf," which

Spelman is said to have seen, has mysteriously disappeared with all the other pre-Tudor copies. The narrative and charters alike teem with all sorts of anachronisms. The place-names are in the form of the fourteenth and not of earlier centuries. The forger did not know the difference between Anglo-Saxon and Norman Latin terms. He puts earls of Lincoln and Leicester in Anglo-Saxon times and calls Saxon nobles after the names of castles founded by Normans. He makes Thurketil the chancellor of Edward the Elder, though the first English king to have a chancellor was Edward the Confessor. He says that the triangular bridge, a fourteenth century structure, existed in the tenth century. He puts fiefs, manors, sheriffs, archdeaconries, seals, vicars, into ages which knew them not. He sends dead men on missions to kings and princes; he makes Ingulf on his travels visit an emperor who was not yet an emperor, and a patriarch who was already in his grave. He makes Thurketil recommend as bishops people who died years before he was born. He makes aged monks, driven away by heathen Danes, come back to restore the abbey and resume their monastic routine, and die, years afterwards, at such ages as 148, 142, and 115. He makes Ingulf study in the non-existent University of Oxford the metaphysics of Aristotle at a time when that work was unknown in Western Europe. He makes monks of Crowland journey over daily from their Cambridgeshire manor of Cottenham to give lectures in a barn at Cambridge on grammar, logic, and rhetoric. He makes Englishmen in the tenth century use French as a vernacular speech. But why go on multiplying instances? The anachronisms and contradictions are so numerous that I can see no use whatever for the book, unless it is to guide the historical tiro in his initial steps in the art of detecting forgery. But to all teachers I still feel there is need to say "Beware of the false Ingulf and all his works".[1] When you find Ingulf quoted, put away for ever the book that thus stamps itself as belated and unscientific.

With all his practice, the mediæval forger was a poor hand at his job. Let us turn then to another famous forger, who lived less than

[1] The best demonstrations of the pseudo-Ingulf forgeries are those of Sir Francis Palgrave in *Quarterly Review*, W. G. Searle's *Ingulf and the Historia Crowlandensis* in the Transactions of the Cambridge Archæological Society, 1894, and, more thorough of all, that of Dr. F. Liebermann, "Über ostenglische Geschichtsquellen, besonders den falschen Ingulf," in *Neues Archiv*, XVIII, 227-67, 1892-3.

two hundred years ago, and see whether the eighteenth century, that age of reason, enlightenment, and sober judgment, could not go one better in falsification than the later middle ages. Let us turn from the pseudo-Ingulf to the false Richard of Cirencester.

About the same time that Crowland was preparing the way for the colossal mystification of the false Ingulf, there lived in the sister abbey of St. Peter's, Westminster, a monk of the house named Richard of Cirencester. The excellent list of Westminster monks which Dr. Pearce, the new bishop of Worcester, has put together from the remarkable archives of the abbey,[1] tells us at a glance what is known of his long and uneventful career. A novice in 1354-5, Richard sang his first mass in 1361-2, went through the various grades of office, sojourned at Oxford as a student, went to Rome as a pilgrim, and at last died in 1400. The only noteworthy thing that he did was to write a dull and useless compilation setting forth at length the history of English kings before the Norman Conquest, called the *Speculum Historiale*, the Historical Mirror, which has been, rather unnecessarily, printed, fifty years ago, in the Rolls Series. But even in the bad old days of the beginnings of the Chronicles and Memorials Series, I have grave doubts whether such stuff would ever have seen the splendour of two volumes of print, had not the blameless Richard had fathered on him one of the most audacious and successful forgeries of modern times, and that the edition of Richard's real book gave the learned editor, Dr. J. E. B. Mayor, an opportunity of denouncing in an elaborate introduction the cheat who had taken poor Richard's name in vain. How this came about, we must now discover.

In 1747 there lived at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, Dr. William Stukeley, vicar of All Saints' Church in that historic borough. Stukeley, who had already attained the ripe age of sixty, was a man of considerable reputation, gained in many different spheres. He had been a flourishing physician and had then become a still more flourishing divine. He was a man of science who had long been a prominent member of the Royal Society, and was proud of his "particular friendship" with the great Sir Isaac Newton. Above all he was an archæologist, who had taken a prominent part in founding the London Society of Antiquaries, of which body he had acted as the first secretary.

[1] E. H. Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster*, p. 100.

He had amassed a vast quantity of miscellaneous and undigested learning, and was specially interested in Roman and "Druidical" antiquities. His chief virtue was a habit, then rare, of wishing to see things for himself. This commendable practice had made him a mighty traveller. He had put together the results of his journeys in a curious but not unattractive work, called *Iter Curiosum*. His chief foible was his entire lack of criticism and judgment. Among other things his ill-regulated fancy led him to see the Druids in all things and to regard "Druidism" as "the aboriginal patriarchal religion". It gave him a corresponding weakness for freemasonry, which he believed to be "the remains of the mysteries of the ancients". His last work had been an anticipation of the favourite literary aberration of the late Mr. Gladstone, for he had attempted to indicate "how heathen mythology was derived from sacred history and how the Bacchus of the poets is no other than the Jehovah of Scripture". Stukeley was a harmless, pompous, self-satisfied sort of person, honest enough in the main, but one of whom his best friends could only say that he was compounded of simplicity, ingenuity, superstition, and antiquarianism. He had a touch of humour, too, preaching, when nearly eighty, his first sermon in spectacles on the text "Now we see as through a glass darkly," and so zealous a votary of science that he postponed morning prayers for an hour that his parishioners should have an opportunity of witnessing an eclipse of the sun. He was a great collector of coins and had a rare gift for nosing out mare's nests. Witness his famous find of Oriuna, the wife of Carausius, a discovery that had no more solid basis than a hasty misreading of the word FORTUNA, inscribed on a coin of the would-be Emperor. But he was a considerable personage withal, both in the social and learned worlds. We can read his nature easily enough in his portrait by Kneller. In this smug complacency, well-fed self-satisfaction, good-natured benevolence, and robust health appear patently to all beholders.

On 11 June, 1747, the rural solitude of the great doctor's retreat in the wilds of a flourishing town, "where I looked upon myself as buried for life," was broken by the receipt of a letter from an unknown correspondent, Professor Charles Bertram of Copenhagen. The "professor" was a young man of four and twenty who was earning an honest living as teacher of the English language in the marine academy of the Danish capital. The son of an English silk-dyer,

Bertram was a Londoner born, but had been taken at an early age to Copenhagen, where his father had set up a hosier's shop. It is to be regretted that we know but little of the elusive personality of Mr. Bertram, but he must clearly have been a clever fellow, well educated, enterprising, audacious, and not overtroubled with scruples. He was eager to get on, and, some months after his correspondence with Stukeley began, he petitioned the Senate of the University of Copenhagen not to allow his profession of English Churchmanship to be a bar to his matriculation as a student at that University, where rigid Lutheranism was a normal condition of admission. His teaching post must have been a very humble one, and it was a feather in the cap of the audacious arrivist that he had so easily attracted the attention of the eminent hermit of Stamford.

Let Stukeley tell the tale of the results of the shot fired at a venture by the ingenious Mr. Bertram. The first letter of the "gentleman unknown to me" was "polite, full of compliments, as usual with foreigners, expressing much candour and respect for me; being only acquainted with some works of mine published. The letter was dated the year before: for all that time he hesitated in sending it." The doctor was much flattered at its contents. "I wonder," he wrote in his Diary, "at the meaning of his finding me out in obscurity." What Bertram was after, subsequent correspondence gradually revealed.

To Bertram's first letter Stukeley returned a civil answer. This produced further correspondence, including a prolix and elaborate letter from "the famous Mr. *Gramm* . . . a learned gentleman who had been in England and visited our Universities. He was Mr. *Bertram's* great friend and patron."

"I answered that letter," said Stukeley, "and it created a correspondence between us. Among other matters Mr. Bertram mentioned to me a manuscript in a friend's hands, of Richard of Westminster, being a history of Roman Britain, which he thought a great curiosity; and an ancient map of the island annex'd." Then ensued some delay. The Duke of Montagu, drew Stukeley "from a beloved retirement" by presenting him to the living of St. George's, Queen-Square, Holborn. "When I became fix'd in *London*," continued Stukeley, "I thought it proper to cultivate my *Copenhagen* correspondent." The "famous Mr. Gramm" was now dead and Stukeley and Bertram

were consequently in direct relations once more. "I now," wrote Stukeley, "began to think of the manuscript and desired some little extract of it." The result was "an imitation of the handwriting," which the keeper of the Cotton Library "immediately pronounced to be 400 years old". Now came the tug of war. "I press'd," continued Stukeley, "Mr. Bertram to get the manuscript into his hands, if possible, which at length, with some difficulty he accomplish'd; and on my sollicitation . . . a transcript of the whole; and at last a copy of the map." "Upon perusal I seriously sollicited him to print it, as the greatest treasure we now can boast of in that kind of learning." Bertram, however, proved coy. Some years elapsed, during which Stukeley made the further suggestion that Bertram's "Richard of Westminster" might well be the Westminster monk, Richard of Cirencester, with whose *Speculum* he seems to have been acquainted. Bertram thankfully took the hint. In 1756 the faithful Stukeley gave him a puff preliminary in the shape of a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries and published in their transactions. In 1757 Bertram published at Copenhagen a volume in which, along with Gildas and Nennius, "Richard of Cirencester," *De Situ Brittaniæ*, first saw the light, accompanied by the "ancient map" and an elaborate commentary by the fortunate discoverer.

The eighteenth century had more "enlightenment" but hardly more "historical sense" than the middle ages. It had certainly less learning and real criticism than the great seventeenth century scholars who had been taken in by the false Ingulf. It was no great wonder, then, that Richard of Cirencester, so whole-heartedly introduced by the learned Dr. Stukeley, should have led captive the antiquarians and historians of the age of reason. There was no one to ask why a monk who lived under Edward III should have any more means of knowing about Roman Britain than the rector of St. George's, Queen's Square, or the professor of English in the marine school at Copenhagen. There was nobody even to take the trouble to compare the map, presented to the London antiquaries in 1756, with the very different map issued by Bertram in 1757. Soon Stukeley republished Richard in a second series of his *Iter Curiosum*. Henry Hatcher of Salisbury set forth the precious text in English, and bore "unequivocal testimony" to its fidelity and exactitude. He protested

that the "unaffected candour" and "laudable zeal" of Richard, his contentment with the "humble honours" of a compiler, showed that he had neither the "inducement nor the inclination to incur the guilt or deception of forgery". Still more emphatic was John Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, who made Richard a chief authority for his "antiquarian romance," which consecrated two volumes to the history of Manchester before the Norman Conquest. Whitaker declared ecstatically that "all the embodied antiquaries of the fourteenth and three succeeding centuries could not have forged so learned a detail of Roman antiquities". In this remark Whitaker was more right than he knew, for it is precisely the non-mediæval character of the pseudo-Richard that convinces the modern scholar that the book was not composed in the Middle Ages.

Even at the time of its first publication, there were some cautious scholars who ventured to suggest that there was a large element of imagination in Richard of Cirencester's work. But they were voices crying in the wilderness. For the best part of a century, every work dealing with Roman Britain implicitly accepted all the forger's statements. To this day atlases and school books have hardly yet been purged of the precise boundaries of the Constantinian provinces of Roman Britain, which are due solely to the imagination of this new "source". To this day text-book writers and popularisers copy out from their predecessors "facts" as to Romano-British history which have no other basis than his imaginations, and it is the more lamentable since most of them have long formally repudiated his authority. The local antiquary finds it even harder to cleanse his system of the virus of Richard than he does to purge it of the infection of the false Ingulf. The Ordnance Survey faithfully marked in its maps the imaginary sites of Richard's Roman stations. It would be an interesting minor investigation to see whether recent recensions of the Ordnance maps have in all cases eliminated these errors. It is only within the last fifty years that conclusive demonstrations of the forgery have convinced all scholars that the book is absolutely valueless.

Scepticism had begun earlier, when careful inquiries at Copenhagen had demonstrated the non-existence of any ancient manuscript or modern copy of the book Bertram gave to the world. There is no reasonable doubt that he forged every line of it, and a remarkably

clever forgery it is for a young man[1] who had not even begun his University course. The style is so mature and rounded that one is inclined to believe that its composition is posterior to the early correspondence of Bertram and Stukeley in 1747. Bertram's original motive in writing to Stukeley may have been no worse than a desire to win by flattery the patronage of that eminent person, and his reference to "Richard of Westminster" was but a casual incident of the correspondence. But Stukeley rose so greedily to the bait and so pressed Bertram to produce Richard of Westminster's work, that the poor youth was forced to satisfy the importunities of the English antiquary. Thus what began as a piece of self-advertisement or a boyish practical joke ended in a careful and deliberate forgery. The map sent to Stukeley in 1747 was not difficult to make, and it took two years of importunity to extract the text of the pseudo-Richard from Bertram's hands. A young man in a hurry would not have tarried so long, if he had ready to hand the goods that he had promised to deliver.

It is hardly needful nowadays to state at length the reasons for accusing Bertram of the sole authorship of both map and book. The map is not at all like any mediæval map of Britain, but is clearly based in outline upon the sixteenth or early seventeenth century Dutch maps whose inaccuracies are faithfully copied. The text is only sound when it is a mere compilation from well-known authors. When it gives us fresh information, it is written in a style that no mediæval writer could possibly have composed. The Latin is fluent and readable, despite occasional false concords and sheer blunders. But it is the Latin of an eighteenth century semi-scholar, accustomed to think in his vernacular and singularly destitute of knowledge of mediæval vocabulary, spelling, idiom, and forms of thought. Bertram's own copious commentary is written in exactly the same style as the text which he maintained was composed in the fourteenth century. It is the style of a third-rate editor of the period. It makes a Westminster monk, who died in 1400, almost as familiar with the mysteries of the Druids as the egregious Dr. Stukeley. It suggests that this Westminster monk had had at least a bowing acquaintance with the Deistic

[1] The first detailed statement of the case against "Richard of Cirencester" is in some articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1866-67 by B. B. Woodward. The fullest working out of the whole problem is in J. E. B. Mayor's introduction to *Speculum Historiale*, Vol II, XVII-CLXIV, Rolls Series.

controversies of Bertram's own age and some sympathy with the less orthodox side of it. No mediæval writer ever, like the pseudo-Richard, addressed the "candid" or "the benevolent reader". No fourteenth century abbot would have discouraged one of his monks from writing an historical treatise on the ground that it was incompatible with the possession of holy orders. No mediæval monk of Westminster would have known such comparative philology as was known to the eighteenth century. The false Richard not only knew the *Agricola* of Tacitus but quoted it from a sixteenth century printed edition, containing a remarkable printer's error. A still happier prophetic vision caused him to use Camden's *Britannia*, two hundred years before its publication. Add to this that the facsimile supplied to Stukeley, although it deceived the contemporary palæographers as easily as the Latin deceived contemporary scholars, was a gross and palpable forgery that never could have been written in any period of the middle ages.

To conclude I will adopt a simple way of proving that Richard was no mediæval monk. I will read a characteristic passage from his work. None is better for our purpose than his general observations on the question of a "certain person,"[1] Where are now the vestiges of those cities and names which you commemorate? Richard's reply is, "This question may be answered by another". He then goes on as follows (I quote from the enthusiastic Mr. Hatcher's translation): "The negligence and inattention of our ancestors in omitting to collect and preserve such documents as might have been serviceable in this particular, are not deserving of heavy censure, for scarcely any but those in holy orders employed themselves in writing books, and such even esteemed it inconsistent with their sacred office to engage in such profane labours. I rather think I may without danger and offence transmit to posterity that information which I have collected. The good abbot indeed had nearly inspired me with other sentiments." He urged that "all our studies should be directed to the purpose of being useful to others". To this Richard replies: "Is then every honest gratification forbidden? Do not such narratives exhibit proofs of Divine Providence? Does it not hence appear that an evangelical sermon concerning the death and merits of Christ enlightened and subdued a world overrun with gentile superstitions?" The abbot rejoined that

[1] Bk. I, ch. VII., pp. 65-67, ed. 1809.

such things are properly treated of in systems of chronology, and that works intended merely to acquire reputation for their authors should be committed to the flames. Accordingly the modest Richard limits himself to a permissible "chronological abridgement," begging the reader to "pray for him to our heavenly Father who is merciful and inclined to forgiveness".

This is second-rate stuff indeed: but it is just the sort of stuff that no fourteenth century monk could have written. Its standpoint, its language, its mentality, are of the eighteenth century. Even Mr. Hatcher sees this, for he sagely observes, "These remarks prove how much Richard rose superior to the prejudices of his age and profession!"

Bertram never attempted to "live up" to the brilliant achievement of his youth. He either lost health or ambition or was afraid of being found out. Moreover, he had not much time to write more, for he died in 1765, only seven years after his great mystification saw the light. While before 1758 he had written grammars and school books, his chief later production was a Danish translation of an English treatise "on the great advantages of a godly life". Thus the forger prepared for his end by a work of edification. He was not the only literary falsifier in the age of Ireland, Macpherson, Iolo Morganwg and Chatterton. These were men of very varying grades of blameworthiness, and perhaps we should not attach too much stigma of criminality even to poor Bertram. There are many scholars, even nowadays, who share to some extent the mediæval fashion of blowing alternately hot and cold against forgers; and in cases of doubt easily persuading themselves that there was some basis of tradition at the back of even the grosser impostures. This is a weakness of the profession, just like the tendency of bibliomaniacs for purloining books, and the similar laxity of a larger section of the general public in respect to umbrellas. But there is no need to labour so obvious a point. In a tale of immoral action there is no moral to be drawn. If there were, I should be inclined to put in a plea for the mediæval forgers with whom I am chiefly concerned against the modern faker of pseudo-mediæval things like Charles Bertram. Am I too much an apologist of my favourite periods when I suggest that the mediæval forger, severe as were his limitations, knew his job at least as well as his modern imitator? It is a real discredit to the eighteenth century

that it was so easily deceived by Bertram. Nowadays we are not likely to give long shrift to a new artist in forgery like the Anglo-Dane. Yet even now we still lack the rigid criteria which enable us decisively to condemn or accept large categories of Norman charters. But it is a comfortable reflection that all forgeries will ultimately be found out. They sometimes, however, hold the field long enough for the forger to make a considerable reputation, and occasionally even a certain sum of hard cash by his mystification.

MIND AND MEDICINE.[1]

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THE early relationships between mind and medicine are intimately bound up with the process by which medicine grew out of magic and religion. The history of medicine reveals a long and chequered progress, still far from complete, in which Man's attitude towards disease slowly became different from that he held towards the many other mysteries by which he was surrounded. His endeavours to cope with disease took at first two directions. In one he ascribed disease to the action of beings different from himself, but capable of being reached by rites of prayer and propitiation. Since these rites, wherever we study them, reveal an attitude of respect and appeal, and imply powers which man does not himself possess, it seems legitimate to regard the beings to whom they are addressed as higher and more powerful than himself. The general body of rites and beliefs forming the means of intercourse between Man and these higher powers make up the aspect of life we call religion. One of Man's early modes of behaviour towards disease may thus be regarded as forming part of religion and the religious attitude.

In the other direction disease was ascribed to the action of other human beings, or of beings of a non-human kind believed to be amenable to processes of a compulsive nature, and therefore less powerful than Man himself, so that the attitude adopted towards them implied neither respect nor appeal. When his efforts to deal with disease took this direction, Man compelled or induced the being to whom disease was ascribed to withdraw the agencies by which the illness was being produced, or himself employed measures designed to negative their effects. Beliefs and measures of this kind make up the aspect of

[1] A Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, the 9th of April, 1919.

life known as magic, but this aspect is less capable of definition than religion and needs analysis into several distinct elements. One of these is certainly degenerate religion, beliefs and rites no longer implying any reference to higher powers which at one time formed their motive and sanction.

The great majority of the measures by which existing savage peoples attempt to cope with disease fall into one or other of the two categories of religion and magic. All that we know of the history of mankind suggests that it was only after long ages, and in some few parts of the earth, that Man reached a conception of disease according to which it is ascribed to processes similar to those underlying modern systems of medicine. The emergence of medicine from its intimate associations with religion and magic is closely connected with the gradual substitution of the concept of physical causation for the spiritualistic agencies of the animism which formed the early attitude towards nature. The growth of medicine is closely bound up with the development of the concept of a natural world as opposed to a world we now regard as supernatural.

All the evidence at our command goes to show that as Man relinquished his early animistic interpretation of the universe, this was replaced by explanations of a materialistic kind. In so far as events were not ascribed to spiritual beings or to direct human agency, they were believed to depend on the action of material agents. The agents thus supposed to be effective in the production of disease during the history of medicine have been of two chief kinds. Among peoples who have been especially influenced by beliefs concerning animals, this branch of creation has been prominent in their theories concerning the production of disease. Elsewhere the evident connection of the blood with life has led to the belief that disease is predominantly due to an altered character of this fluid, and this belief formed the starting-point of the humoral pathology which for so many centuries formed the basis of medicine. The two great developments of our own time in medicine have followed these two main lines of early belief. For the worms and snakes [1] of savage medicine have been substituted the microscopic and ultra-microscopic organisms of the germ theory of dis-

[1] When these early beliefs are regarded as previsions of the germ-theory it should be remembered how naturally they follow from the general beliefs concerning animals characteristic of certain forms of human culture.

ease, while the place of the old humours has been taken by the alteration in the proper proportion of internal secretions which is now coming to be recognised as the immediate cause of so many morbid states.

During the long period in which medicine was occupied in substituting these material agents for the spiritual beings to which all disease was once ascribed, little if any room was left for agencies which come within the modern connotation of mind.

When Man thought of the production of disease by other than material agents, his concept of the activity involved was very different from that of "mind" as held by ourselves, or at any rate by the psychologist. The agency to which he ascribed disease was spiritual rather than mental, and was conceived as having form and capacity for independent existence. It might be a spirit which had never been human or had human associations, or one which had once had a human habitation but had come through the death of its host to acquire an independent existence, or lastly, it might be a soul which still had its customary seat within a human body, but could leave it in sleep or trance to act as the producer of disease.

Though at this stage of human culture there is no trace of the modern concept of mind as distinguished from spirit, we can see clearly that most of the processes by which disease was thought to be produced, and was treated, are such as would act through the mind. The manifold lines of treatment by which human or spiritual agents were induced to cure disease acted, if they were successful, through the agency of faith and suggestion. The curative measures which are still being employed by many peoples, act through the same processes and owe their success to the faith they inspire or to the more mysterious property we call suggestion.

It is necessary, however, to distinguish the production and treatment of disease by agencies acting through the mind from the knowledge that the measures used act in this manner. Though remedies acting through the mind were probably the earliest to be employed by Man, the knowledge that the remedies act in this way is one of the most recent acquirements of medicine. It is said that the Japanese of the sixteenth century understood the action of remedies through the mind,[1] while the great importance attached by the Hindus to the

[1] M. Neuburger, *History of Medicine*, London, 1910, vol. i., p. 78.

mental, as opposed to the material, makes it probable that they also had more than an inkling of the rôle of mental factors in the treatment, if not in the production, of disease. How far this may be so must be left to special students who will examine the original authorities with an eye to the possibility that the agencies in which these peoples believed were spiritual rather than mental in nature. If we confine our attention to our own culture, it is only within the last fifty or sixty years that there has been any clear recognition of the vast importance of the mental factor in the production and treatment of disease, and even now this knowledge is far from being fully recognised either by the medical profession or the laity.

For the first definite movement in this direction we have, as so often happens in the history of human culture, to thank external influence, in this case that of India. The first great stimulus to the study of the mental factor in disease came from the need to understand the mysterious action of hypnotism. Though this agency had long been known in Europe as in all other parts of the world and had been brought prominently to notice at the end of the eighteenth century by the activity of Mesmer, the knowledge which the Abbé Faria brought to Europe from India acted as a great stimulus to its scientific study, in which Braid of Manchester holds a foremost place, while the later experience of Esdaile in India did much to help the practical utilisation of hypnotism in this country.

About this time there was setting in the wave of materialism which was to dominate European thought for many years. Under this influence the new agent was regarded as a form of magnetism or other physical force. It was only slowly that there came into being the now generally accepted view that the agency through which hypnotism produces its effects is suggestion. This is a process comparable with volition, imagination, or other similar concepts which, wholly devoid of any implication of the independent action of a spiritual being, had been reached by the new and slowly developing science of psychology. The study of hypnotism and allied processes led students to distinguish clearly the important influence of suggestion in the production and treatment of disease.

The phenomena of hypnotism having led students to the definite recognition of the mental factor in medicine, it was natural that attention should be directed to the influence of other mental conditions.

This development followed many directions. The general public, less under the influence of the prevailing materialism of science than the medical profession, and more ready to accept any new doctrine which could be made to harmonise with the old spiritualistic view of disease, adopted with enthusiasm many new systems of healing. In most of these the vast power of religious faith was explicitly recognised. In some, such as Christian Science and the "New Thought," etc., the cardinal element of faith was made the starting-point of intellectual constructions which gave, or seemed to the believers to give, a rational basis for the success that these new movements so often obtained. At the same time, within the medical profession, especially among French-speaking peoples, there came into existence a definite system of psycho-therapeutics in which suggestion and other agencies were assigned their rôles, and principles were laid down to indicate the scope of these agencies and the means of turning them to best advantage. In Switzerland P. Dubois [1] laid stress on the helpfulness of explaining what he called the philosophy of disease, while in France J. Déjérine and E. Gauckler [2] in more scientific fashion, compiled a most valuable text-book of the principles and methods of psycho-therapy.

Independently, growing out of dissatisfaction with the practical use of hypnotism, a third line of approach was taken by the Viennese physician, Sigmund Freud. It had been found by earlier workers that hypnotism was often the means of reaching experience which had been so completely forgotten that by no effort of the will could it be recalled. Working in conjunction with Breuer,[3] Freud found the process of bringing these buried memories to the surface led to the disappearance of hysterical symptoms of long duration, and the two authors founded upon this experience a theory of hysteria according to which its symptoms are the indirect expression of old mental injuries (traumata), especially those of early childhood.

Later, Freud found that the buried memories which manifested

[1] *Les Psychonévroses et leur traitement moral*, Paris, 1908; translated by S. E. Jelliffe and W. A. White as "The Psychic Treatment of Nervous Diseases," New York and London, 1906.

[2] *Les Manifestations fonctionelles des Psychonévroses*, Paris, 1911; translated by S. E. Jelliffe as "The Psychoneuroses and their Treatment by Psychotherapy," Philadelphia and London, 1913.

[3] S. Freud, *Selected Papers on Hysteria and other Psychoneuroses* (Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 4), New York, 1912.

themselves in this morbid manner could be brought to the surface more securely and with greater therapeutic efficacy, though less expeditiously, without the aid of hypnotism. By means of his method of free association, starting as a rule from clues provided by dreams, Freud was led to formulate a theory of the unconscious and an elaborate scheme of the mechanism by which it is related to and acts upon the conscious. In the course of this work Freud was led to the conclusion that the mental experience which had been cut off from the general body of consciousness was nearly always connected with sex. His work, and still more that of his disciples, came to deal so exclusively with sexual factors that the general body both of the medical profession and the laity refused to give this movement the attention it deserved. They failed to recognise the immense importance of the mental mechanisms laid bare by Freud's method of analysis, and the body of evidence which was thereby provided to illustrate the influence of the unconscious.

One of the most important aspects of Freud's work was that the rôle he assigned to the unconscious enabled him to adopt in the most complete manner the principle of determinism within the mental sphere which had been of such value in the progress of physical science. It is essential to this progress that the student shall believe implicitly, or at the least, act as if he so believe, that every physical event has its physical antecedent, without the presence of which it would not itself have come into existence. The progress of physical science depends largely on the robustness of the faith in this law of causation which allows no residue or anomaly, however insignificant it may seem, to be put on one side as due to chance or accident. The successful worker in science makes such residue or anomaly the subject of patient investigation until its occurrence has been traced to its antecedents, antecedents which may open new paths to the understanding of experience which till then had had no adequate explanation.

So long as the attention of students of mind was confined to the sphere of the definitely conscious, there was no opening for the application of a similar doctrine of determinism within the sphere of the mental. Recognising that the principle of psychical determinism must hold good if psychology is to become a science, some students had put forward hypothetical mental dispositions where no antecedents could be detected in consciousness, but these were too vague to be of any

assistance in research. It is of no service to postulate a disposition of which one knows nothing, which stands in no known relation to any other part of a construction. Other students definitely threw over any attempt to apply the principle of determinism within the sphere of mind, and were content to seek for physical causes in the form of physiological processes or dispositions whenever the study of conscious process failed to provide an adequate explanation.

The special value of Freud's work is due to the fact that he was not content merely to put forward unconscious dispositions as the antecedents of changes in consciousness, but was enabled by the knowledge derived from his analyses to formulate a definite scheme of the unconscious region of the mind and of its relation to the conscious. This scheme is of necessity to a large extent hypothetical, and as with all hypotheses of such complexity, it will certainly require modification, but growing experience is pointing more and more surely to the truth of its main assumptions.

Five years ago, before the outbreak of the war, many were coming to acknowledge the great importance of mental factors in the production and cure, not only of diseases obviously mental in nature, but also of many which had been held to be wholly physical. There was, however, no general agreement concerning the principles which should underlie a system of psychological medicine. There was even no general belief in the possibility of principles which could act as the basis and inspiration of research. From the one system which could have provided such basis and inspiration the majority of workers were estranged, partly owing to the undue weight laid upon sex by its adherents, partly owing to the unsatisfactory form in which the new doctrines had been put before the public.

The effect of their recent experience upon the opinions of the medical profession has been profound. Perhaps the most striking feature of the war from the medical point of view has been the enormous scale upon which its conditions have produced functional nervous disorders, a scale far surpassing any previous war, although the Russo-Japanese campaign gave indications of the mental and nervous havoc which the conditions of modern warfare are able to produce. While certain of these disorders are the result in part of physical causes, such as cerebral concussion or illnesses specially affecting the nervous system, it has gradually become clear, even to the firmest believer in the

dependence of mind on body, that in the great majority of cases the conditions upon which the disorder depends are purely mental. All are coming to see the profound effect of mental shock and strain in weakening the powers of control by which instinctive processes are normally held in check, if not completely suppressed. Moreover, it has become clear that in the vast majority of cases the morbid processes which have been set up by shock or strain are not connected with the sexual instinct, but depend on the awakening of suppressed tendencies connected with the still more fundamental instinct of self-preservation. While the nature of the war-neuroses is satisfactorily explained by the Freudian mechanisms of suppression, conversion, defence-reaction, compromise-formation, etc., they lend no support to the exclusively sexual origin of neurosis which had been the chief obstacle to the general acceptance of Freud's doctrines. It cannot yet be said that the essential features of these doctrines have met with general acceptance, but the state of the matter is now very different from the widespread neglect, or even reprobation, which existed before the war. The great majority of students of the neuroses are now prepared to consider Freud's position, to accept such parts of his doctrine as seem to them supported by the facts, and to suspend judgment concerning those parts for the truth of which they do not deem the existing evidence sufficient.

I have dealt at length with the controversial topic of Freud's views concerning the neuroses because he, more than any other worker, has emphasised the mental factor in disease, and more thoroughly than any one else has based his work on a determinism which is as essential to the progress of psychology and psycho-pathology as determinism within the physical sphere is essential to the progress of the sciences which deal with the material world.

In the foregoing sketch of the history of the relations between mind and medicine I have considered at some length one of the most important principles of psychological medicine, viz., the principle of psychical determinism. This principle is of especial importance in connection with the art of diagnosis, for only those who believe firmly that every mental symptom has its mental antecedent will have the patience and courage to probe deeply enough into the history of a patient. They will not rest content until they have discovered, not only the events which acted as the immediate conditions of the disease,

but also those factors producing the special qualities of the patient's mental constitution which made it possible for these conditions to produce so great and so disastrous an effect. A firm belief in the principle of psychical determinism is the most important condition of success in the diagnosis and treatment of functional nervous disorders.

I propose now to consider some other of the more important principles which underlie success in the treatment of these disorders. One such principle may be regarded as a consequence of psychical determinism. It is a general rule of medicine that the physician must not be content to treat symptoms, but having traced these symptoms to their source, should by suitable remedies attack this source and treat the symptoms through the conditions by which they have been produced. This principle holds good for psychological medicine. If it is believed that the symptoms have been produced by psychical factors, it will follow that the remedies must also be psychical in nature. I do not suppose that even the crudest materialist, having once acknowledged that the symptoms depend upon a fright in childhood, a reproach concerning a misdemeanour in youth, or an anxiety in adult life, would expect to produce any permanent improvement by the administration of a drug or the performance of a surgical operation. It must be pointed out, however, that such measures may be successful in some cases, not merely through their psychical effect, but because, by removing secondary disturbances, they may break a vicious circle and thereby give an opening for the action of intrinsic mental forces working towards recovery. The *vis medicatrix naturæ* applies in the mental as well as in the material sphere.

Another principle which is now meeting with general acceptance in psychological medicine is that functional nervous and mental disorders depend essentially on disturbance of the instinctive and emotional or affective aspects of the mind. It is now widely acknowledged that in the attempt to get back to the roots of these disorders it is necessary to look for experience which had a strong emotional tone. This principle has long been more or less explicitly recognised, and underlies such general beliefs as are expressed in the adage that it is worry and not work which kills. But it is only recently that we have learnt to appreciate the extent of its application and to use it in treatment as a guide of the first importance. It has long been known that in the more explicitly mental disorders of insanity, no good is done by reasoning

with the patient as a means of countering his delusions. It seems even that such reasoning may only intensify and fix the delusions by driving the patient to adopt the part of an advocate. We now see that this is a necessary consequence of the emotional basis of the disorder. The delusions are the product of a process of rationalisation by means of which the patient has tried to account for his abnormal emotional state. Treatment directed to these secondary products wholly fails to touch the deeper and essential factors.

The modern theory of emotion connects it closely with instinct. There is reason to believe that the emotional factor in neurosis is the expression of some instinctive tendency which has been suppressed on account of its incompatibility with social standards. Neurosis occurs when, through some shock or strain, the agencies which keep the tendency in check are weakened, allowing it again to come into conflict with social standards. The form which the neurosis takes depends on the process by which Nature attempts to solve this conflict.[1]

I must be content with this brief description of some of the more important principles upon which rests our modern system of psychotherapy, and pass on to consider some of the main agencies which are utilised by the practitioners of this branch of medicine. I shall lay stress especially on the three agencies of self-knowledge, self-reliance, and suggestion.

The agency of self-knowledge, which, following Dr. W. Brown, I have elsewhere [2] called autognosis, covers a wide field in which two main sections can be distinguished. Where the morbid state depends on some experience or tendency which lies within the region of the unconscious, self-knowledge as a therapeutic agency will consist in bringing the buried and unconscious experience to the surface. The unconscious experience has to be brought into relation with the general body of experience which is readily accessible to consciousness and so made part of it that it ceases to act as a separate force in conflict with the general body of conscious experience.

The other main form of the agency of self-knowledge comprises

[1] See *British Journ. Psych.*, 1918, vol. ix., p. 236, and *Mental Hygiene*, 1918, vol. ii., p. 513.

[2] Art. "Psycho-therapeutics," Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Comparative Religion and Ethics*, vol. x., p. 433. This article may be consulted for information concerning other therapeutic agencies which I do not consider in this lecture.

the processes by which a sufferer is brought to understand elements of conscious experience which are being misinterpreted, and through this misunderstanding are helping to maintain, even if they did not help to produce, the morbid state.

Between these two forms lie a large variety of processes in which there is a mingling of the unconscious and conscious elements brought into relation with one another, thus doing away with the conflicts upon which the disorder depends and restoring harmony within the personality.

It may seem that the rôle here assigned to the process of self-knowledge is in contradiction with what has been said earlier concerning the failure of appeal to the intellectual and the necessity of attacking ing the instinctive and emotional basis of the disorder. The intellectual element, however, though secondary, is present and must not be neglected. Experience shows that, while the direct attack upon the intellectual aspect of a neurosis or psychosis will fail, a line of treatment in which the intelligence of the patient is brought to bear on the part taken by instinctive and emotional factors in the production of his illness may be of the utmost value. Indeed, success in treatment depends largely on the possibility of diverting the intellectual activity from a channel which is forcing it into an asocial or antisocial direction and leading it into one which will again enable the patient to live in harmony with the society to which he belongs.

Where the sufferer from neurosis is intelligent, the mere exposure of the faulty trend and the demonstration of the process in which this trend took its origin may be sufficient. The patient only needs to be started on the right path and his own intelligence will lead him back to health and happiness. In other cases the faulty trend has been so long in action that a lengthy process of re-education may be necessary to put the morbid process in the proper light, and reduce the power which through habit has been acquired by the secondary products of the morbid process. In other cases, again, the intelligence of the patient may not be sufficient to enable him to solve the conflict unaided, and the process of re-education has to assist the patient to understand the nature of his disorder and the processes by which he can again place his steps upon the path of health.

The next agency I have to consider is one which may be summed up under the term self-reliance. There is a pronounced tendency for

sufferers from neurosis to avoid the unpleasant at all costs. Since all social duties, even those in which the nearest relatives are involved, are liable to become irksome or positively distressing, the patient seeks quiet and solitude, and if left alone these antisocial tendencies may become a habit, converting one who before his illness was a social favourite into a recluse or misanthrope. Aches and bodily discomforts which in health are disregarded, and when so treated soon cease to annoy, are liable in neurosis to grow in intensity and insistence. They may so absorb the attention that the sufferer's efforts are exclusively devoted to the avoidance of all conditions, such as noise and excitement, which aggravate, or seem to him to aggravate, his troubles. He is apt to resort to drugs, either at his own or his physician's instance, and since these are merely palliative and do not touch the roots of his malady, they only serve to accentuate his pains and worries, even if he escapes the greater evil of a definite drug-habit. He strives to banish from his mind all distressing thoughts and memories, including experience so arresting that, if his efforts were not exclusively turned towards the avoidance of immediate pain, he would at once recognise the futility of his attempt.

One of the first steps in the treatment of such cases is to persuade the patient to forego any adventitious aids, such as drugs or electricity, upon which he has come to rely. Assisted by a process of re-education designed to show their subjective nature, he must be encouraged to fight his pains and discomforts by his own strength. He must be convinced of the futility of his attempts to escape from the thoughts and memories which distress him and shown by trial that when these painful experiences are faced they are far less terrible than they seem to be when kept at a distance. He must be encouraged to mix with his fellows in spite of the immediate discomfort which this produces, and here again he must learn by experience that the pains of the reality do not equal those of anticipation.

The policy of facing his troubles instead of running away from them has certain effects of a far-reaching kind which are due to a special mode of reaction of the mind when in the presence of the painful. By repressing unpleasant thoughts and memories the patient is assisting a process by which we tend to suppress painful experience and dissociate it from the general body of consciousness. When thus suppressed and dissociated, however, such experience does not cease

to exist, but by its activity produces many of the most painful features of the illness, distressing dreams and nightmares being the symptoms which form the most direct consequence of the repression and suppression. By facing his troubles in place of striving to banish them, the dreams or other troubles due to repression may disappear or so alter their character as not to interfere with comfort and health.[1] Owing to the malign power of repressed experience, the policy of facing the painful may have effects reaching far more widely than might be expected from the normal experience of health that a trouble faced loses half its terror.

The third agency I have to consider is suggestion. Though this term is freely and confidently used in psychological medicine, there is little agreement concerning its exact meaning, and much is included among its activities which has little to do with it in nature.[2] I use the term for a process which belongs essentially to the instinctive side of mind. It is the representative in Man of one aspect of the gregarious instinct, the instinct which makes it possible for all the members of a group to act in unison so that they seem to be actuated by a common purpose. According to this view it is a process which differs essentially in nature from those mental processes which produce uniformity of behaviour by endowing the members of a group with a common idea or a common sentiment. Its activities lie definitely within the unconscious sphere so that when the physician employs suggestion consciously, he is using in an artificial manner an agency which belongs properly to the region of the unconscious.

The most striking form in which Man has come to use suggestion consciously and wittingly is hypnotism. All gradations are met in practice between this definitely conscious use and cases in which the physician acts upon his patient and moulds him to his will by the unconscious process of suggestion, without recognising the true nature of the process which is taking place. As a rule the more unwitting the use of suggestion, the greater is its power and efficacy. On this foundation rests the success of quacks, for they advocate and use their

[1] For examples of the beneficial effects of this kind see *The Repression of War Experience*, Proc. Roy. Soc. of Med., 1918 (Section of Psychiatry), vol. xi., p. 1.

[2] For its distinction from faith as a therapeutic agency, see Art. "Psychotherapeutics" in Hastings' *Encyclopædia*.

nostrums in blissful ignorance of the process upon which their efficacy really depends. The physician who knows enough to distinguish between the influence of suggestion and other modes of action a remedy possesses, may signally fail to attain the success of the quack, because the instinctive process of suggestion is not being employed in the manner natural to it.

One of the greatest difficulties of psychological medicine arises out of the opposition, if it be not definite incompatibility, between suggestion and the group of agencies which rest upon the principle of self-reliance. The action of suggestion can never be excluded in any form of medical treatment, whether it be explicitly designed to act upon the mind or whether ostensibly it is purely physical in character. It is when suggestion is used wittingly, and especially when it is directed to produce a definite hypnotic or hypnoidal state, that the conflict with the principle of self-reliance becomes most definite. In these cases the patient is definitely led to rely on a power, in this case that of the physician, other than his own. Even when, as in the most recent developments of hypnotic treatment, suggestions are given in the hypnotic state designed to strengthen the self-reliance and volitional control of the patient, he cannot have the confidence, and especially the confidence in the future, which is given by a recovery which he can clearly trace to his own efforts. The whole process differs essentially from that in which the action of the physician has been limited to helping the agency of self-knowledge and placing the steps of the patient on the right path. Even if the hypnotic suggestion should succeed in strengthening the will and assisting the patient to face his troubles, his satisfaction and confidence must in some degree be tarnished by the knowledge that this result is due to the action of another person and not to his own activity.

There is also a certain amount of conflict between hypnotic treatment and remedies which rest on the principle of self-knowledge. We do not yet understand the nature of hypnotism. Even to the physician this remedy partakes of that mysterious character which belongs to aspects of nature which have not yet been brought into relation with the rest of our scientific knowledge. To the patient, this mystic character must be far greater. In a fully satisfactory system of mental medicine the treatment should follow logically from the pathology. The remedies should stand in a definite and intelligible relation to the

causes by which the illness has been produced and the processes by which these causes have produced their effects. The intrusion of a mysterious agency interrupts the continuity of blended diagnosis and treatment. It disturbs the process by which the patient is led towards recovery by knowledge of the conditions through which he was led astray.

In spite of these difficulties arising out of conflicts with the main principles of psycho-therapy, there are certain cases in which the use of hypnotism is justified. A faulty trend of thought or conduct may by habit have become so fixed that it requires a process more drastic than mere persuasion to break it, or the unaided strength of the patient may be insufficient to enable him to stand up against the pains or horrors of his malady. In such cases the experience which has produced or helped to produce his illness may by this treatment be buried still more deeply than before ; no lasting and complete success can be expected unless the treatment is continued sooner or later in accordance with the leading principles of self-knowledge and self-reliance. If, however, the patient can be protected from undue stress, hypnotic or other form of suggestive treatment may enable him to pass through life without manifest nervous or mental disorder.

Another and perhaps more legitimate mode of using hypnosis is in the interest of diagnosis. Dissociated or forgotten experience may be recovered more speedily by means of hypnosis than by the process of free association, the analysis of dreams, or other means of gaining access to the unconscious. Such use of hypnotism as an instrument of self-knowledge need interfere very little with the principle of self-reliance, the hypnotic process merely giving the knowledge from which the therapeutic process starts and upon which it is based.

Though hypnotic treatment can thus be justified in certain cases, it is rarely necessary. It is generally used, firstly, as a short cut to immediate results without regard to the future, and secondly, because the striking and theatrical character of these results greatly impresses a public accustomed to consider the needs of the moment as more important than a complete and lasting cure.

I must be content with this brief account of a few of the more important principles of mental therapy and of the agencies which are available in putting these principles into practice. I shall conclude this lecture by pointing out that these basic principles of mental

medicine are also those of all sound systems of education and underlie success in social life, in health as well as in disease.

In the case of one process, the attainment of self-knowledge as a means of treatment, the resemblance with a social process of normal health is so obvious that the physician has come to use a term derived therefrom. The process by which a faulty trend of feeling, thought, or conduct is diverted into a more healthy channel is generally known as re-education. This only differs from the ordinary process of education in the nature of the knowledge and attitude to be acquired. The agency of self-reliance, which I have made of such fundamental importance in psycho-therapy, is of equally great importance in education, though this importance is inadequately recognised in modern educational practice. This failure is due to the fact that it is far easier to pour facts into a pupil than to develop an attitude of mind, just as it is far easier to pour medicine into a patient than to instil hope, patience, and self-reliance.

The influence of suggestion in education resembles in many respects that which I have assigned to it in medicine, and is of especial importance owing to the great suggestibility of children. The importance lies in the power of suggestion in relation to that function of education by which it develops an attitude of interest in the intellectual, the beautiful, or the noble. Nothing assists the development of such an attitude more than the mental atmosphere which the teacher has produced, just as no factor is of greater importance in therapeutics than the atmosphere of hope and trust produced, whether in home or hospital, by a skilful physician. In each case this atmosphere is produced in the main by suggestion, and in education as in medicine this success is the greater the more unwittingly this agency is used. The success of a great teacher, or that which so often comes to new movements in education even when based on wrong principles, is due to the infective enthusiasm and personality of the teacher acting through an agency quite distinct from the matter he teaches. As in medicine, the danger to which such a teacher is open is that he may rely too greatly on this influence and fail to recognise its conflict with the principles of self-knowledge and self-reliance.

The principles which I have here put forward as suited for the treatment of mental disorders of the individual are equally appropriate to the treatment of the faulty trends and disorders of society as a whole.

The statesman whose duty it is to find remedies for such faulty trends and disorders has, like the physician of the individual, to discover the deeper conditions by which they have been produced and may do much to amend the evil by remedies based upon this knowledge. He can hardly, however, expect a lasting cure unless he tell the people what is wrong and where they have gone astray. Without such self-knowledge his work is liable to be upset by later conditions which would be innocuous if the community had been led to see and understand the nature of their earlier misfortunes.

Moreover, the self-knowledge of the community is like that of the individual in that the social group is even more subject than the individuals of which it is composed to the influence of conditions lying deeply beneath the surface. It is generally recognised that the factors upon which social disorders depend usually go far back in the history of the people, factors, not only in conflict with later social standards, but also in many cases with existing social conditions. To understand the evil and find the right remedy, inquiries are needed which go so far into the past that they lie altogether outside the memories of the people and can only be reached by special processes of historical research and sociological reasoning. These factors belong just as much to the unconscious of the folk-mind as the factors producing a neurosis or psychosis belong to the unconscious region of the individual mind.

The importance of self-reliance in disorders of the body politic is as great as that of self-knowledge. A nation which refuses to face the facts and is content to swallow every placebo and nostrum of its politicians cannot expect to gain thereby the permanent improvement of any disorders by which it is affected. Even if the remedies of its rulers be wise, only a temporary effect can be expected if the people rely too much on this wisdom and fail to make a united effort to remedy the faults of their society.

It is less easy to compare the rôle of suggestion in the group with that it takes in determining the fate of the individual. Suggestion is essentially a process tending to produce unanimity in the social group, and its action is even more inevitable when we are dealing with social than with individual disorders. The physician who knows that suggestion cannot be excluded, but that its influence may be for good or evil, will be forewarned and forearmed, and this is equally true of the statesman. Suggestion is responsible for panic or collapse, just as it

may be responsible for harmony to a more useful end. The wise statesman who understands the pervasive and yet elusive nature of this agency, may by such understanding do much to avert its more malign aspects and turn it to a useful purpose, while a people who understand may be prevented from falling victims to the excesses of which this agency is capable. In the society as with the individual the potency of suggestion is the greater, the more unwittingly it is in action. And as in medicine its greatest dangers may be averted through knowledge, so may much be done to avert danger and make suggestion an instrument for good in social and political life if its nature and mode of action are understood.

Closely connected both with education and statesmanship is the subject of ethical training. Here the importance of self-knowledge and self-reliance is so well recognised that it is not necessary to dwell upon it at length. It must be enough to point out that the principles so universally accepted as the means of treating faulty trends in those aspects of behaviour which, though clearly abnormal, are yet usually regarded as lying within the bounds of health, have been shown in this lecture to hold good for the correction of morbid tendencies which lie definitely within the region of disease. The modern theory of psychological medicine supports the close relation between mental disease and crime to which all recent developments in sociology and jurisprudence are tending. Moreover, if the principles of psychological medicine here put forward are accepted, they should remove, or go far towards removing, the obstacle to the acceptance of this close relation which is presented by the problem of moral responsibility. It will be seen that the recognition of crime as a manifestation of disease, far from implying an absence of responsibility, would on the lines laid down in this lecture lead us logically to treatment which does not differ greatly from that implying such responsibility. The mode of treating crime and moral disorder which is suggested by its relationship to disease differs from the older method in that the erring person would not be merely exhorted to exert his will, but would be shown how his faulty trend has been produced and would thus be assisted in the application of his voluntary efforts.

It is a striking fact that the organisation which has by long experience acquired the most highly developed system of treating moral defect, the Catholic Church, lays great stress on the apparently minor

faults which have led up to definitely immoral conduct, and directs the attention and efforts of the penitent to these quite as much as to the conduct which is the immediate occasion for penance. This close resemblance of the traditional practice of the Catholic Church with that of the most modern systems of psycho-therapy leads me to the place of religion in psychological medicine. From one point of view the use of religious motives in treating mental disorder is definitely in conflict with the principle of self-reliance. For the essence of religion is that it inculcates reliance upon a power other than that of the sufferer. Some degree of such conflict there must always be, and in many of the forms in which religion is adopted as a therapeutic agency, this conflict is pronounced. But in the most recent developments of religious doctrine, in which it is recognised that the higher power acts through normal mental process, the conflict becomes of no great account. The modern religious teacher does not tell the sufferer that he will get rid of his troubles by the mere act of faith, but counsels self-examination and self-help. To put his advice into simple language, he says that God only helps those who help themselves, and thus adopts a line which in essentials is that advocated in this lecture. In thus treating religion as a therapeutic agency, I recognise that I am dealing only with one aspect of the matter. I could not, however, leave the subject wholly on one side. It is necessary that those who employ religious agencies in the treatment of disease, whether they be physicians or priests, should realise that in so doing they are running in some degree counter to one of the principles of psychological medicine, for if this fact is recognised they will avoid the evils which might accompany too crude an application of the religious agency. Moreover, no treatment of the subject of mind and medicine would be complete which ignores religion. One of the most striking results of the modern developments of our knowledge concerning the influence of mental factors in disease is that they are bringing back medicine in some measure to that co-operation with religion which existed in the early stages of human progress.

Men of England, heirs of Glory,
Heroes of unwritten story,
Nurslings of one mighty Mother,
Hopes of her, and one another;

Rise like Lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number,
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you—
Ye are many—they are few.

. . . . . .

Let a great Assembly be
Of the fearless and the free
On some spot of English ground
Where the plains stretch wide around.

. . . . . .

Let the laws of your own land,
Good or ill, between ye stand
Hand to hand, and foot to foot,
Arbiters of the dispute,

The old laws of England—they
Whose reverend heads with age are gray,
Children of a wiser day;
And whose solemn voice must be
Thine own echo—Liberty!

—From Shelley's "Mask of Anarchy," which was written to commemorate Peterloo.

THE STORY OF PETERLOO.

By F. A. BRUTON, M.A., Litt.D.

THE SITE.

OF the thousands of people who stream out of the Central Station every day, perhaps it does not occur to many that as they descend the gentle slope in front of the station they have immediately before them the site of Peterloo. The street that runs parallel to the front of the station immediately outside the gates is Windmill Street ; Windmill Street is cut at right angles by three other streets—Watson Street on the left, Mount Street in the centre, and Lower Mosley Street on the extreme right. All four of these streets were in existence at the time of the tragedy of the 16th of August, 1819, though the houses in Windmill Street and Mount Street ran along one side only. Parallel to Windmill Street, and on the other side of four great blocks of buildings, runs Peter Street, now one of the main arteries of the city. With the exception of a fragment at the Deansgate end, Peter Street hardly existed at the date of Peterloo, except as a projected causeway across an open space.

Perhaps the best spot from which to obtain a general conception of the scene is the top of South Street. If we stand to-day at the point where South Street cuts Windmill Street, and look northwards down towards Peter Street, we have immediately on our left the south-eastern corner of the Free Trade Hall. Apparently it was just within the site of that corner that the two carts stood that formed the hustings for the great meeting. If we now imagine that the three blocks right and left of us—the Free Trade Hall and the Tivoli Theatre on the left, and the Theatre Royal and the Y.M.C.A. on the right, are swept away, and the whole space cleared, from Windmill Street on the south right back to the Friends' meeting-house on the north, and from Watson Street on the west to Mount Street on the east, we shall have before us the open space known in 1819 as St. Peter's fields, where the great meeting was held. St. Peter's church,

built in 1794 (the site is now marked by a stone cross) stood in the open to the north-east. The whole space now occupied by the Midland hotel was then a high-walled garden, in which stood a residence known as Cooper's cottage ; at the south-western corner of this enclosure, where we now see the Buffet of the Midland, stood a row of some half-dozen houses, facing Mount Street, in one of which—the residence of Mr. Buxton—the magistrates assembled on the eventful day. From this house a double cordon of some hundreds of special constables reached as far as the hustings, which we have already located. The troops employed were concealed at some little distance from the area, in the side streets ; one body being accommodated in Pickford's yard, off Portland Street.

The streets of Manchester, if we will only see them aright, are thronged with the memories of nearly two thousand years ; of the many epoch-making events that have been associated with them, few, if any, have sent such a thrill through the country as the tragedy which took place in the area we have just defined on the 16th of August, 1819, when there assembled here what proved to be the most important of all the many meetings in favour of Reform which were held in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The slight sketch which follows is an attempt to give as vivid, accurate, and impartial an account of this event as may be possible after the lapse of a hundred years. In order to do that intelligibly, it will be necessary to name a few of the sources from which information is obtainable.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE DETAILS OF PETERLOO.

Though no monograph on the tragedy of Peterloo has appeared so far, the literature dealing with the subject is considerable. We turn first of all, naturally, to the periodical publications of the day—the local newspapers, of which there were five, the London and provincial press, and the monthly and quarterly magazines. Of the five local papers, all weekly, two favoured the " Reformers," as the agitators among the working classes were called at the time ; the other three were more or less antagonistic to them. For a proper understanding of the occurrences of the day it is advisable to follow the issues of these papers for many months, indeed for several years, before and after the

event ; one of the trials, for example, took place nearly three years after the catastrophe.

It is a curious and interesting fact that the future editors of two Manchester newspapers not then founded, both of whom were present in St. Peter's fields on the 16th of August, 1819, finding that the reporter for the London "Times" had been arrested at the hustings, and fearing that therefore the accounts in the London papers would be one-sided, unfairly condoning the action of the magistrates, determined to send a report to London themselves, which duly appeared in two leading London papers. These two men were John Edward Taylor, the founder and first editor of the "Manchester Guardian," and Archibald Prentice, founder and first editor of the "Manchester Times". Taylor, who was in business at the time, immediately constituted himself the protagonist among the champions of the "Reformers," and opened the battle in a series of fourteen weekly tracts entitled "The Peterloo Massacre," the first of which appeared just a week after the event. His clear reasoning and strong democratic leanings are visible in a number of other protests which appeared at the time ; the flame of his indignation against anything that savoured of tyranny seemed only to burn more brightly in the face of adverse verdicts ; and when, less than two years later, the assistance of a number of friends made it possible for him to issue the prospectus of the "Manchester Guardian," foreshadowing a newspaper that should aim at "fixing on a broader and more impregnable basis the fabric of our liberties," he used the columns and leaders of his paper as a weapon of fearless and scathing criticism of those who attempted to defend the action of the authorities on the 16th of August. As a single illustration we may mention that when, in May, 1821, Sir Francis Burdett moved in the House of Commons for a Committee of inquiry into the whole question, and the motion was seconded by Mr. Hobhouse, and lost by more than two to one, Taylor devoted nine and a half crowded columns to a report, and criticised the debate in a leader consisting of three columns closely printed in small type.

Taylor's vigorous and spirited protests brought out Mr. Francis Phillips, a Manchester manufacturer, as champion of the magistrates, and his able pamphlet entitled "An Exposure of the Calumnies Circulated by the Enemies of Social Order against the Magistrates and the Yeomanry Cavalry," went through two editions of a thousand

each. The controversy was the signal for the appearance of a perfect avalanche of tracts, among which we must at least mention two: an anonymous paper entitled, "An Impartial Narrative of the Late Melancholy Occurrences in Manchester"; and a high-toned protest entitled, "A Letter from J. C. Hobhouse, F.R.S., to Lord Viscount Castlereagh".

More interesting for our present purpose are the detailed narratives of a number of eye-witnesses of the scene in St. Peter's fields. The most famous of these is the account given by Samuel Bamford, the Middleton weaver, in his "Passages in the Life of a Radical". Corroborative of Bamford's narrative is the story written by a man who occupied a very different station in life, John Benjamin Smith, afterwards first treasurer of the Anti-Corn Law League, and a close friend of John Bright. A third connected narrative is given by Archibald Prentice, in his "Recollections of Manchester". There is also, of course, the rather highly coloured account given by Hunt, the chairman of the meeting, in his "Memoirs," issued during his confinement in Ilchester jail.

One of the most valuable of all the individual narratives is that given by the Rev. Edward Stanley, father of Dean Stanley, and brother of the first Baron Stanley of Alderley, who came upon the scene quite unintentionally and by pure accident, and watched the proceedings from beginning to end from the room immediately above that in which the magistrates were assembled. Stanley was at the time Rector of Alderley; he afterwards became Bishop of Norwich. His testimony—which was accompanied by a small sketch-plan—is specially valuable because he was pre-eminently a statistician; he became, indeed, one of the first Presidents of the Manchester Statistical Society. Moreover, he saw everything from the point of view of a stranger from outside; and his effort to be impartial and to confine himself to measured language is almost laboured.

The events at Peterloo gave rise to no less than six trials in the various courts, at which the story of the day's proceedings was told and retold with the most wearisome reiteration. The chairman of the magistrates, the special constables, the yeomanry, the Reformers, the anti-Reformers, the chairman of the meeting, the reporters for the London and provincial papers—all were allowed to have their say, and once more the Rev. Edward Stanley appeared as a witness.

More than a quarter of a century after the event, Sir William Jolliffe, Bart., M.P., who actually rode as an officer in the charge of the 15th Hussars at Peterloo, wrote a detailed account of the day from the soldier's standpoint. This valuable record was inserted in "The Life of Lord Sidmouth," for which it had been prepared. Lastly, complimentary dinners in Manchester gave to the commanders of the yeomanry engaged an opportunity of presenting their point of view which was duly reported.

We have now enumerated the principal sources upon which we have to depend for the details of this eventful day; before attempting a picture of the scene it is necessary to say something of the state of Manchester and of the country at the time.

THE UNREST THAT FOLLOWED THE NAPOLEONIC WARS.

FREQUENT USE OF THE MILITARY BY THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES.

The employment of mounted troops and infantry in quelling civil disturbances, protecting property, and dispersing crowds was a common practice for years before the catastrophe in St. Peter's fields; and, of course, troops were used subsequently, especially during the Chartist disturbances just twenty years later, when Sir Charles Napier was placed in command of nearly 6000 men in the north, and stationed 2000 of them at Manchester, which he regarded as a danger centre. We must, however, carefully distinguish between cases where there was open riot, and instances where there was not even a threat of disorder. At the famous Shude Hill Fight in 1757, the soldiers were only ordered to fire when one of their number had been killed and nine wounded by the rioters. The result of the volley was that four people were killed and fifteen wounded. In 1812 Shude Hill was again the scene of disorder, when the cavalry were called in and the Riot Act was read. In the same year the great depression led to disorder at Stockport, when a troop of the Cheshire yeomanry "cleared an area of a hundred acres in less than ten minutes". This year also saw very serious machine riots at Middleton, where the Scots Greys and Cumberland Militia were used with fatal results.

At the conclusion of the Napoleonic war the Corn Bill led to

fresh disturbances, which continued, more or less, up to the date of Peterloo, the chief causes being unemployment, the scarcity of food, and the terrible social and economic conditions under which the operatives and their families lived. We may form some faint conception of these conditions by reading such a Report as that issued by Dr. Kay (afterwards Sir James Kay Shuttleworth) years after the date of Peterloo. The details he gives as to the sanitary conditions in Manchester are such that we could hardly quote them here. Between 1750 and 1820, it must be remembered, the population of Manchester increased sevenfold; yet the town was still under the old manorial system, with no local government whatever; and the great mass of its inhabitants—it is this that makes the situation so cruel—were, in a public sense, *inarticulate*, for Manchester had no parliamentary representative. "The overworked population," writes Dr. Kay, "had scarcely any means of education, except Sunday schools, dame schools, and adventure schools. They were ignorant, harassed with toil, inflamed with drink, and often goaded with want, owing to sudden depressions of trade." In a memorial sent up to Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, only a few weeks before the catastrophe of Peterloo, the magistrates sitting at the New Bailey Courthouse in Salford make pointed reference to "the deep distresses of the manufacturing classes of this extensive population," and go so far as to say: "when the people are oppressed with hunger we do not wonder at their giving ear to any doctrines which they are told will redress their grievances".

In the years 1815 and 1816 the masses were already feeling their way towards a solution of their difficulties. The writings of Cobbett were eagerly read; Hampden clubs were formed in the distressed districts; and Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, and a Reform of the Currency were held up as the sovereign cure for the ills of the workers. Hence the agitators earned for themselves the name of "Reformers". In addition to Cobbett, the workers looked up to five or six public men as their leaders and champions, and one of these became the hero of the Peterloo massacre. They were, Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Cochrane, Major Cartwright, Sir Charles Wolseley, Mr. Henry Hunt, and—at one part of his career—Lord Brougham.

In attempting to understand the situation, it is advisable to keep two facts in mind: first, that there was, without doubt, secret plotting

in a few isolated cases among the operatives, of a decidedly dangerous character; this is freely admitted by their own representative, who tells, e.g. of the scheme to make a "Moscow of Manchester"; secondly, that the discovery of this fact led to an estrangement between employers and employed, which postponed and delayed any approach to a friendly settlement.

The whole situation is well expressed by the anonymous author of "An Impartial Narrative," when he says: "The two general classes of Reformers and Anti-Reformers *watched each other with a jealous eye*". To anyone who makes an earnest attempt to obtain an impartial view, this attitude of mutual suspicion, which seemed to heighten the barrier between the two classes as time went on, is one of the most painful features of the whole story.

Two years before Peterloo, when the Habeas Corpus Act had already been suspended, and a number of the agitators were consequently in hiding, a meeting was held in St. Peter's fields which, in all respects except the massacre, was almost the counterpart of the Peterloo meeting. On the 10th of March a great crowd assembled to give a send-off to the "Blanketeers". The magistrates were alarmed at the prospect, though nothing was proposed but a march of a body of petitioners to London, and on the 8th of March the Lord Lieutenant authorised Sir John Leycester to call out the Cheshire Yeomanry in aid of the civil power. The order was obeyed with alacrity; on the following day five troops of that regiment assembled and marched for Manchester, where they joined the King's Dragoon Guards, and detachments of the 54th and 85th Infantry, the whole force being under the command of Sir John Byng.

Early on the morning of the 10th crowds of people began to stream into the town by various roads, many carrying knapsacks and blankets. The instigators of the meeting spoke from improvised hustings in St. Peter's fields. The magistrates met in the very same room which they afterwards occupied on the occasion of Peterloo, and having warned the leaders with no result, they called upon the military, as they afterwards did at Peterloo, to disperse the meeting. By a "judicious movement" of the King's Dragoon Guards, the cart was instantly surrounded and the constables took the whole of the speakers into custody. No opposition was offered to the cavalry, and the multitude immediately dispersed, the troops giving them free passage. The

march of the Blanketeers was then harassed by the mounted troops mentioned above, all the way to Macclesfield, where a number of arrests were made, and this effort of the Reformers eventually fizzled out. The circumstances of the meeting should be compared with those of Peterloo, because—as Mr. J. E. Taylor afterwards pointed out: "Here is to be found the precedent for that novel form of reading the Riot Act (if in either case it were read at all) which was followed on the 16th of August, 1819". Immediately after the Blanket meeting, the Government set on foot a system of espionage, which greatly embittered those agitating for Reform, and was severely criticised in Parliament. Meanwhile the privileged classes in Manchester and other towns had already met, at the suggestion of the Home Secretary, to consider "the necessity of adopting additional measures for the maintenance of the public peace". Thus repressive measures only drove the discontent under to smoulder, and suspicion helped to widen the breach. The principal perpetrators of this policy, afterwards so pointedly anathematised by Shelley, were Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, Eldon the Lord Chancellor, and Viscount Castlereagh, the Secretary for foreign affairs.

Less than a year before Peterloo, in September, 1818, the Dragoons were once more called out to disperse a crowd of "turned-out" spinners who were attacking a mill in Ancoats. Evidently this was the scene which Mrs. Gaskell had in her mind when picturing the attack on Mr. Thornton's mill in "North and South". It must not be forgotten that there was, at the time under consideration, no regular police force available. Nadin, the Deputy Constable, who figures in the various arrests, was merely the paid official of the antiquated Court Leet. The so-called "Commission of Police," which was under the control of an absurdly unrepresentative committee, will not bear comparison with the Watch Committees of to-day. The practice of swearing-in special constables was frequently resorted to, but special constables had none of the skill and training in the matter of handling crowds possessed by modern police. The constables sometimes declined to act without military aid, and the magistrates leaned heavily on the support afforded by the troops in their difficulties, and frequently acknowledged their indebtedness to them. It is indeed evident from the history of the Cheshire Yeomanry, that when the question of disbanding that regiment was seriously discussed, as it was in the early

part of the nineteenth century, it was overruled by the consideration that the troops were indispensable in dealing with civil disturbances, and the chairman of the sessions immediately following the meeting of Blanketeers in March, 1817, took occasion to say that "the districts most liable to disturbance derived effective military aid from a corps formed in a neighbouring and for the most part tranquil county"; and again, that "*the Bench would be most happy to further any proposition for forming such a corps in the manufacturing districts*".

It must not be forgotten that the "neighbouring and for the most part tranquil county" was an agricultural district; and that the farmers and country squires who rode in its yeomanry had a special interest in preserving intact the Corn Law, which the Reformers were out to repeal.

THE MANCHESTER AND SALFORD YEOMANRY.

The Resolution just quoted is of great importance for a proper understanding of the occurrences at Peterloo. A careful examination of the evidence makes it clear that the catastrophe was (as far as can be seen now) largely due to the employment at the outset of a body of volunteer cavalry known as the "Manchester and Salford Yeomanry". It is not easy to trace the history of these troops; no contemporary records seem to exist. We can, however, fix the date of their formation within a few months. In his famous tract entitled "An exposure of the calumnies," etc., Mr. Francis Phillips, in quoting a letter of thanks from Lord Sidmouth to the commander of the Cheshire Yeomanry, dated the 12th of March, 1817, says (Appendix, p. v) "*The Manchester Yeomanry had not then been embodied*". Yet Aston, in his "Metrical Records of Manchester," states that the Corps was formed in 1817, and gives some details of its inception. We are therefore justified in supposing that it was embodied as the result of the Resolution quoted above; in other words, that (apparently in emulation of the Cheshire Yeomanry) the corps was instituted mainly for the purpose of assisting the civil authorities in maintaining order. With reference to the number employed at Peterloo Mr. Phillips speaks (p. 58) of "the 116 Manchester and Salford Yeomen who were on duty on the 16th of August". The actual names, addresses, and occupations of these men are given in the "Manchester Observer" for the 20th of April, 1822, and this, again, is important

evidence. They are nearly all from Manchester, a few coming from Pendleton and Stretford ; mostly tradesmen, innkeepers, and small manufacturers, e.g. cheesemongers, ironmongers, tailors, watchmakers, calico-printers, butchers, corn-merchants, butter factors, and so on. It would be unreasonable to suppose that such a levy would contain many skilled horsemen, and this, as we shall see, was fully borne out at Peterloo. Lieutenant Jolliffe says of them : " without the knowledge possessed by a (strictly speaking) military body, they were placed, most unwisely, as it appeared, under the immediate command of the civil authorities " ; and this " greatly aggravated the disasters of the day ".

It may easily be supposed that the use of these local levies of mounted troops for purposes of this kind aroused bitter resentment in the minds of the labouring population, which only grew as time went on. Thus we need not be surprised to find these words in the " Manchester Observer " just a month before the tragedy of Peterloo : " The stupid boobies of yeomanry cavalry in the neighbourhood have only just made the discovery that the mind and muscle of the country are at length united, and during the past week have been foaming and broiling themselves to death in getting their swords ground and their pistols examined. . . . The yeomanry are, generally speaking, the fawning dependents of the great, with a few fools and a greater proportion of coxcombs, who imagine they acquire considerable importance by wearing regimentals."

The sharpening of the swords, by the way, was fully acknowledged by the other side. Thus Mr. Phillips writes (p. 17) : " The simple history of all the tales we have heard of sharpening sabres is briefly this. On the 7th of July the Government issued orders to the Cheshire and Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry, through the Lords Lieutenant, to hold themselves in readiness, and consequently most of the Manchester Cavalry sent their arms to the same cutler which the corps during the last war had employed, to put them in condition ". All these details are important as aggravating the bitter feelings which already existed, and we shall see later that when this improvised corps advanced into the crowd, using their sharpened swords, they were in some cases individually recognised by those at whom they struck. As we approach the date of Peterloo, the confidence reposed in the volunteer cavalry by the authorities becomes even more apparent, and

about a month before the event the Commander of the Cheshire Yeomanry received orders to hold his regiment in readiness at a moment's notice to aid the civil power.

Meanwhile the magistrates complained to the Home Secretary that as the law stood they were "unable to interfere with the meetings of the Reformers, notwithstanding their decided conviction of their mischief and danger," and that "upon this most important point they were unarmed". These are the very words which Mr. J. C. Hobhouse took as his text in the able letter to Lord Castlereagh mentioned above.

THE DRILLINGS.

We come, lastly, to another phase of the agitation, which was strongly developed not long before Peterloo, and—being undoubtedly misunderstood—gave the authorities some anxiety: the Reformers began to hold meetings on the moors and elsewhere for drill in squads. Bamford has left a very graphic account of these "drilling parties," as he calls them. He emphasises the fact that there were "no armed meetings," "no concealed meetings," or "anything of the sort". His explanation of the object of the drills—and there seems to be no reason why the explanation should not be accepted—is as follows: "It was deemed expedient that the meeting on the 16th of August should be as morally effective as possible, and that it should exhibit a spectacle such as had never before been witnessed in England. We had frequently been taunted in the public press with our ragged, dirty appearance at these assemblages; with the confusion of our proceedings, and the moblike crowds in which our numbers were mustered; and we determined that for once, at least, these reflections should not be deserved—that we would disarm the bitterness of our political opponents by a display of cleanliness, sobriety, and decorum such as we never before had exhibited. . . . We obtained by these drilling parties all we sought or thought of—an expertness and order while moving in bodies."

It is certainly true that this was the effect of the drilling; the order with which the various contingents approached the rendezvous on the fateful day was commended alike by friend and foe; in fact one of the magistrates afterwards stated on oath that it was not until he saw "the party come on the field in beautiful order that he became

alarmed". It is easy for those of us who know the beautiful green uplands to which Bamford refers, to believe his statement that "to the sedentary weavers and spinners these drillings on the open moors were periods of healthful exercise and enjoyment". His description of them is one of the most charming passages in all his writings; and surely it is a happy coincidence that the centenary of Peterloo should see the Tandle Hills—the very hills he describes—thrown open to the public for ever.

The authorities saw fit to take quite another view of the drills. On the very day before the event of Peterloo a large meeting for such exercises was held on White Moss, near Middleton, very early in the morning, and a few men who were there for purposes of espionage, and who afterwards reported to the magistrates, were very roughly handled by the operatives. Bamford does not hesitate to say that the rough treatment accorded to these spies "probably eradicated from the minds of the magistrates and our opponents whatever sentiments of indulgence they may hitherto have retained towards us". This was on the day preceding Peterloo; on the day following the event the magistrates met and denounced the meetings for drill as "contrary to law".

THE STORY OF PETERLOO.

The great meeting planned to be held in St. Peter's fields on the 9th of August, 1819, seems to have originated in a desire on the part of the Reformers of the Manchester district to emulate the example set by other towns in the country, notably that of London and Birmingham, where great gatherings brought together to advocate Reform had been addressed by Mr. Henry Hunt, and other leaders in the movement for the better representation of the working classes. The advertisement which appeared in the "Manchester Observer" for the 31st of July, 1819, ran: "The Public are respectfully informed that a meeting will be held here on Monday, the 9th of August, 1819, on the area near St. Peter's Church, to take into consideration the most speedy and effectual mode of obtaining Radical Reform in the Commons House of Parliament, being fully convinced that nothing less can remove the intolerable evils under which the People of this Country have so long, and do still, groan; and also to consider the propriety of the Unrepresented Inhabitants of Manchester electing a Person to

represent them in Parliament, and the adopting Major Cartwright's Bill. H. Hunt in the chair."

On the very next day the "Manchester Chronicle," a superior Tory organ, published a letter from Lord Sidmouth to the Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire emphasising the need for the utmost vigilance on the part of the magistrates on account of the frequent public meetings, and desiring him to give immediate directions to the several Corps of Yeomanry Cavalry to hold themselves in readiness to attend to any call for support and assistance they may receive from the bench.

A week later the magistrates proclaimed the proposed meeting to be illegal. The Reformers accordingly decided to take the advice of counsel, and Mr. Saxton, sub-editor of the "Observer," was commissioned to proceed to Liverpool and seek legal advice in the matter. He returned with the important ruling, "that the intention of choosing Representatives, contrary to the existing law, tends greatly to render the proposed meeting seditious". Accepting this ruling, the Reformers at once abandoned the meeting and carefully revised their programme. Accordingly, on the 7th of August, the "Observer" published a notice to the effect that the Boroughreeve and Constables [i.e. the three main officials of the Court Leet] had been requested by 700 persons to summon a meeting "to consider the propriety of adopting the most *legal* and *effectual* means of obtaining Reform in the Commons House of Parliament," and had declined to do so. Notice was therefore given (over the signatures of nearly 1300 inhabitants) that a meeting would be held in St. Peter's fields on Monday, the 16th of August, and that Mr. Henry Hunt would take the chair at 12 o'clock.

A week later, on the 14th of August, the "Observer" contained a long letter from Henry Hunt, dated from Smedley Cottage, where he was the guest of Mr. Johnson, urging the importance of the Reformers exhibiting "a steady, firm, and temperate deportment," and bringing with them "no other weapon than that of an approving conscience". According to the "Chronicle" there was an influx of strangers on the Saturday and Sunday preceding the eventful Monday. The same paper speaks of "painful anticipation" on the Sunday as to "how the following day would terminate". The general opinion on 'Change on the Saturday was that the magistrates had decided not to disturb the meeting, unless some breach of the peace occurred, and men of all

parties said that the meeting would go off quietly. No disturbance of any kind took place in Manchester on Sunday, the 15th of August.

It was a grand opportunity for a man with *vision;* but the responsible authorities—i.e. the special Committee of the magistrates of Lancashire and Cheshire (which included three clergymen) meeting in Manchester—seem to have been in a panic. They sat till midnight on Sunday without being able to decide what to do. At 11 p.m. one of them wrote to the Home Secretary that although the magistrates, as then advised, did not then think of preventing the meeting, they were alarmed, and were in a state of painful uncertainty.

The long-expected day came at last. The morning was fine, and later on the heat was considerable. In Manchester the magistrates saw fit to publish a notice recommending the peaceable and well-disposed inhabitants to remain in their own houses during the whole day, and to keep their children and servants within doors. The Rev. Jeremiah Smith, then the High Master of the Free Grammar School, afterwards stated at the Trial that most of the shop windows were closed, and that as there was a general feeling of apprehension, he dismissed his day boys after breakfast, and eventually went home and locked himself and his boarders into his house in Long Millgate—the very house from which the boy De Quincey had slipped away "in the deep lustre of a cloudless July morning," not twenty years before.

As early as nine in the morning people began to assemble in St. Peter's fields. The magistrates met first at the Star Inn and at eleven o'clock adjourned to the house of Mr. Buxton in Mount Street. By this time the troops employed had been posted out of sight in the streets lying just off the open space where the gathering was held. Their disposition seems to have been as follows: one troop of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry was concealed in Pickford's yard, off Portland Street, another troop seems to have been in Byrom Street; their commander was Major Trafford, but the first troop seems to have been led on this occasion by Hugh Birley, who only a few years before had opposed the new Corn Law. The Cheshire Yeomanry, in their full strength of eight troops, i.e. at least 400 men, had assembled on Sale moor at 9 a.m. and arrived at their assigned station in St. John Street soon after eleven; two squadrons of the 15th Hussars (i.e. over 300 men) were in Byrom Street and a troop of the same regiment was in Lower Mosley Street, acting as escort to a troop of

the Royal Horse Artillery with two long six-pounders ; the guns thus commanded the principal approach to the area. The above are the mounted troops ; besides these nearly the whole of the 31st Infantry were concealed in Brasenose Street ; and several companies of the 88th Infantry were "in ambush" in the neighbourhood of Dickinson Street ; the names of the commanders of all these detachments are given, and the whole force was under the direction of Lieut.-Colonel L'Estrange.

The hustings, which consisted of two carts and some boards, were erected just below Windmill Street, about 100 yards from Mount Street. The speakers faced northwards, towards the Friends' meeting house, close to which was the Friends' school. Here, near a few oak trees, a quantity of loose timber was lying about, of which we shall hear later on. It was about twelve o'clock when a strong double cordon of several hundred special constables was drawn between Mr. Buxton's house in Mount Street and the hustings. They formed a lane by which, if necessary, the magistrates could communicate with the speakers.

THE PROCESSIONS FROM THE OUTLYING DISTRICTS.

We must now turn to the districts outside Manchester, where preparations were early afoot for the great meeting. Detachments of Reformers were streaming along the main roads towards Manchester, with bands playing and banners flying, and caps of liberty held aloft. These were red peaked caps, of Phrygian shape, and had been used as symbols by the Revolutionists in France. The cap is supposed to have been employed as a symbol of the manumission of a slave in Roman times.

We have actual details of several of these processions—the Middleton, Royton, and Chadderton parties, the Rochdale section, the Saddleworth troop, the Oldham group, and those from Stockport, from Pendleton, from Ashton, and from Bury. The march of the Middleton and Rochdale detachments is graphically described by Bamford, who led the first, the whole contingent numbering, according to his estimate, about 6000 men, with numbers of women and children.

By 8 a.m. all Middleton was astir. The procession was arranged

with a band of youths in front wearing laurels, then came representatives of the various districts, five abreast, then the band and the colours. These bore the inscriptions : " Unity and Strength " ; " Liberty and Fraternity " ; " Parliaments Annual " ; " Suffrage Universal ". A crimson velvet cap inscribed " Libertas " was carried among the banners. Then came, five abreast, the delegates from eighteen different districts. At the sound of a bugle, some 3000 formed a hollow square and Bamford addressed them, enjoining them to be steadfast and serious, not to offer resistance if their leaders were arrested, and to lay aside their sticks. This last injunction Bamford communicated to them, in accordance with general orders, somewhat against his will. He speaks of his contingent as " a most respectable assemblage of labouring men, all decently, though humbly, attired ". " My address," he adds, " was received with cheers ; it was heartily and unanimously assented to ; we opened into column—the music struck up—the banners flashed in the sunlight—other music was heard —it was that of the Rochdale party, coming to join us—we met— and a shout from 10,000 startled the echoes of the woods and dingles. Then all was quiet save the breath of music ; and with intent seriousness we went on ". The party included some hundreds of married women and several hundred girls, who danced and sang. " And thus, accompanied by our friends, and our dearest and most tender associations, we went slowly towards Manchester ". We may stand by Bamford's monument in Middleton churchyard to-day, and looking down the hill, picture the scene. On the monument are inscribed these words of John Bright : " Bamford was a Reformer when to be so was unsafe, and he suffered for his faith ".

Leaving these, we turn to the Oldham contingent. They met on the village green, Bent Grange, at nine, and were there joined by the Chadderton section. The Chadderton banner is still in existence. It was made of white and green silk, measured about 12 feet by 9 feet, and bore the usual mottoes of the Reformers. The Royton section carried two banners of red and green silk. The second is of special interest ; it was inscribed " The Royton Female Union—Let us DIE like Men and Not be Sold like Slaves ". It was afterwards captured by the Cheshire Yeomanry and was produced as " evidence " against the Reformers in the Trial at York in the following year. The most beautiful of all the banners was said to be one of white silk carried by

the Oldham people. But the banner which furnished the most important "evidence" in the Trial at York was a black one carried in the procession of the Saddleworth, Lees, and Mossley Union. It was inscribed: "Equal Representation or Death," "Unite and be Free," "No Boroughmongering," "Taxation without Representation is Unjust and Tyrannical," and it bore figures of Justice holding the scales and two hands clasped. After the lapse of a century the talk of the terrible danger hidden behind this banner, on the part of counsel at the Trial and public speakers elsewhere, may appear somewhat ludicrous. The Oldham and Royton colours were escorted by some 200 women dressed in white. The procession was joined later by the Failsworth Radicals. Altogether there seem to have been sixteen banners displayed at the meeting, with five caps of liberty.

As the contingents approached Manchester, horsemen rode out in various directions to meet them and returned to report to the assembled magistrates. One of these scouts was Mr. Francis Phillips. In his "Exposure" he tells how he rode "along the turnpike road leading to Stockport, and at a place called Ardwick Green, about one and a half miles from Manchester Exchange" met a regiment of Reformers marching in file, principally three deep. This column, 1400 or 1500 strong, "marched extremely well, observing the step though without music". It included about forty women, and the colours were handsome and inscribed "No Corn Laws" and "Universal Suffrage". Mr. Phillips is careful to add: "Nearly half of the men carried stout sticks". He slipped back to Manchester by another road and reported these facts to the magistrates. Immediately afterwards the column carried its colours into St. Peter's fields, and Phillips then took up his station in the cordon of special constables. From the evidence at the Trials we obtain details of the Bury contingent, five abreast and 3000 strong, with many women, and of that from Pendleton; and the Rev. Edward Stanley tells how he met the Reformers from Ashton.

Mr. Archibald Prentice, standing at a window, watched the crowd stream down Mosley Street. "I never," he says, "saw a gayer spectacle. There were haggard-looking men, certainly, but the majority were young persons, in their best Sunday suits, and the light-coloured dresses of the cheerful, tidy-looking women relieved the effect of the dark fustians worn by the men. The 'marching order,' of which so much was said afterwards, was what we often see now in the processions

of Sunday School children and Temperance Societies. To our eyes the numerous flags seemed to have been brought to add to the picturesque effect of the pageant. Slowly and orderly the multitude took their places round the hustings. Our party laughed at the fears of the magistrates, and the remark was that if the men intended mischief they would not have brought their wives or their children with them. I passed round the outskirts of the meeting and mingled with the groups that stood chattering there. I occasionally asked the women if they were not afraid to be there, and the usual laughing reply was : 'What have we to be afraid of ?'"

Mr. John Benjamin Smith, who watched the meeting from a window in Mrs. Orton's house, next door to Mr. Buxton's in Mount Street, says : "We reached there about eleven-thirty, and on our way saw large bodies of men and women with bands playing, flags and banners bearing devices. There were crowds of people in all directions, full of humour, laughing and shouting and making fun. It seemed to be a gala day with the country people, who were mostly dressed in their best, and brought with them their wives, and when I saw boys and girls taking their father's hands in the procession, I observed to my aunt : 'These are the guarantee of their peaceful intentions, we need have no fears,' and so we passed on to Mrs. Orton's house."

For two hours the Yeomanry and Hussars remained at their stations dismounted. Occasionally a few of the officers would ride up to Deansgate to watch the procession. One of them writes : "During the greater portion of that period a solid mass of people moved along the street. They marched at a brisk pace, with ranks well closed up, five or six bands of music being interspersed. Mr. Hunt was in an open carriage, adorned with flags and drawn by the people. As soon as the great bulk of the procession had passed, we were ordered to stand to our horses."

Manchester at that time was the mere nucleus of the Manchester of to-day. Districts which now lie well within its boundaries were then outlying villages. Even in the heart of the city several of the main thoroughfares familiar to us did not then exist. Market Street was still a mere winding lane, in places only five yards broad from building to building ; the Bill for widening and straightening this thoroughfare was passed just two years after Peterloo. The present Corporation Street and Victoria Street did not exist, and Deansgate

"Orator" Hunt, 1773-1835
Chairman of the Peterloo Meeting

had not been widened. The pavements in places were only 18 inches wide, and several accidents occurred on the day of Peterloo from falls into the cellars which were then used as living rooms. Bearing in mind these facts, it is easy to follow the various contingents as they converged towards St. Peter's fields, the principal procession being that of the chairman.

Henry Hunt was a country gentleman of Wiltshire, whose personal characteristics made him specially successful as a demagogue, and there is no doubt that he was perfectly sincere. Bamford, whose admiration for him waned in later years, describes him as "gentlemanly in his manner and attire, six feet and better in height, and extremely well formed". The white hat which he wore became the symbol of Radicalism. He was shrewd, quick at repartee, and had the copious flow of highly-coloured language which delights a crowd. He was exceptionally clever in handling a great gathering, and was always scrupulously careful to keep within the strict letter of the law. His vanity we can forgive, for he rendered yeoman service to the cause of Liberty, but his private life, the details of which are told with almost brutal candour by himself in his "Memoirs," will not bear inspection. Of his political record he has no reason to be ashamed. He presented the earliest petition to Parliament for Women's Suffrage; he fought the battle of Reform in its darkest days; and he attacked the first Reform Bill, demanding the Ballot, Universal Suffrage, and the repeal of the Corn Laws. He has been compared in some respects to Wilkes. "As a practical Reformer he failed because he never understood the place of compromise in politics, but he was a shrewd and far-seeing ideologue and a splendid political gladiator." Whatever may be the correct estimate of him there is no doubt that at the time we are considering he was the object of boundless admiration on the part of the Reformers, who simply idolised him. After he was bailed at Lancaster, pending his trial, he was accorded a triumphal procession through Lancashire to Manchester, and in London he was cheered to the echo by enormous crowds.

The contingents from Middleton and Rochdale, led by Samuel Bamford, were approaching Collyhurst, when a message reached them from Hunt, directing them to come by way of Newton and head his procession from Smedley Cottage. This they did, but taking a wrong turn at the top of Shude Hill, they led down Swan Street, Oldham

Street, and Mosley Street, and swept round the left-hand corner, i.e. the south side of St. Peter's church into "a wide unbuilt space, occupied by an immense multitude, which opened and received them with loud cheers". Hunt's procession, meanwhile, took the route down Shude Hill, and—Corporation Street not being in existence—wound round Hanging Ditch, Old Millgate, the Market Place, and St. Mary's Gate into Deansgate, whence it emerged along the fragment of Peter Street and made for the hustings.

On the box-seat of the carriage in which Hunt rode sat Mrs. Mary Fildes, carrying a white silk flag as the president of the "Manchester Female Reformers". Mrs. Banks, in a note in the Appendix to her "Manchester Man," states that this Mrs. Fildes was personally known to her. In her story she represents her as sabred at the hustings. We have already referred to the Female Reformers of Royton, and their banner of red and green silk. The Female Reformers of Manchester also had their banner and had planned to present it to Mr. Hunt after the meeting, with an address stating that "as wives, mothers, daughters, in their social, domestic, moral capacities, they came forward in the sacred cause of liberty, a cause in which their husbands, their fathers, and their sons had embarked the last hope of a suffering humanity". Still more interesting is the pathetic appeal which these Female Reformers of Manchester, who were well organised, issued before the meeting to "the Wives, Mothers, Sisters, and Daughters of the higher and middle classes of Society," describing the terrible privations which had made the petitioners "sick of life, and weary of a world where poverty, wretchedness, tyranny, and injustice had so long been allowed to reign among men"; and imploring these more favoured ladies to come forward and join hands with them in the struggle for Reform. The Committee of the Manchester Female Reformers, dressed in white, walked behind Hunt's carriage. They afterwards sent messages of sympathy to him, during his imprisonment in Ilchester jail. "Our tyrants," they said, "have immured you in a dungeon; but we have enshrined you in our hearts". On the expiration of his term, they presented to him a silver urn, suitably inscribed.

The woman on the box-seat was afterwards confused by the magistrates, in their Report to the Home Secretary, with a Mrs. Elizabeth Gaunt, who was found in the carriage, after the meeting, in

[illegible] OF THE MANCHESTER REFORM CLUB

a fainting condition. Taylor was quick to seize upon this instance of what he ironically termed "official accuracy". This poor woman had been wounded by the cavalry. She was nevertheless arrested, and confined for over a week at the New Bailey, when "the Court had great pleasure in ordering her immediate discharge".

As the carriage made its way across the square—Mr. Hunt standing up—a great shout arose from a crowd whose numbers have been variously estimated (Mr. Hunt told a London audience afterwards that there were 150,000 !), but we shall probably not be far wrong if we put the figure at 60,000. Well might Bamford describe the scene as "solemnly impressive". Arrived at the hustings Hunt was at once voted to the chair, and taking off his white hat, he began his address.

We have abundant material to enable us to reconstruct the scene. Along part of the upper side of Windmill Street ran a row of houses. In front of these, on the slightly rising ground, stood a number of spectators, and the dense crowd reached from Windmill Street back towards the Friends' meeting house on the north. Mount Street was bounded then on the east by a row of houses reaching, perhaps, one-third of the way along the present Midland hotel ; the crowd did not reach right up to these houses, and there were stragglers in the intervening space. It was in this intervening space that the Manchester Yeomanry reined up later on as they arrived. Above the heads of the crowd, at intervals, could be seen the various banners and caps of liberty. Mr. Hunt and the other speakers were standing on the simple hustings facing northwards. The magistrates were watching the proceedings from a window on the first floor of the house of Mr. Buxton in Mount Street. At the window of the room immediately above them stood the Rev. Edward Stanley, Rector of Alderley, an unintentional but keenly observant spectator of every detail. At one of the windows of the adjoining house stood Mr. J. B. Smith. All around, in the side streets, but not visible from St. Peter's fields, were posted the regular troops and the yeomanry, and mounted messengers for communication with them were in attendance at the magistrates' house. Among the representatives of the Press were Mr. John Tyas, for the London "Times," Mr. Edward Baines for the "Leeds Mercury," and Mr. John Smith for the "Liverpool Mercury". Purely as a guess, we should be inclined to conjecture that the last of the three may have been the author of the anonymous "Impartial Narrative".

The magistrates had at length come to a decision of some kind. If a few of the inhabitants of the town would put their names to a statement to the effect that they considered that the town was endangered by the meeting, that would justify them in arresting the leaders. Accordingly, Richard Owen and some thirty others, including Mr. Phillips, signed the necessary affidavit, and a warrant in accordance with it was drawn up, stating that "Richard Owen had made oath that Henry Hunt and others had arrived in a car at the area near St. Peter's church, that an immense mob had assembled, and that he considered the town in danger". Referring to this strange mode of procedure afterwards Sir Francis Burdett said: "If arrests are to follow opinions which may find a place in other men's heads, there is an end to Liberty". However weak their action may appear to us to-day, it was on this ground that Nadin, the Deputy constable, was instructed by the magistrates to go and interrupt a great peaceful meeting by arresting the leaders. Nadin assured them that even with the hundreds of special constables at his disposal he could not carry out the arrests without the assistance of the military. Hunt had only been speaking for a minute or two, therefore, when riders were dispatched for the troops. It is difficult to understand why a single message was not sent to Lieut. Colonel L'Estrange, who was in command of the whole force. By a strange fatality the magistrates, at the same instant that they sent for Colonel L'Estrange, despatched a horseman to Pickford's yard for the troop of Manchester Yeomanry concealed there, which they had chosen to retain under their own control. The message, which was produced at the Trial, was as follows: "To the Commanding Officer, Portland Street: Sir: As Chairman of the Select Committee of Magistrates, I request you to proceed immediately to Number 6, Mount Street, where the Magistrates are assembled. They conceive the civil power wholly inadequate to preserve the peace. I have the honour, etc., William Hulton." At the moment that this letter was sent, Mr. Hunt was, in an orderly manner, addressing a perfectly peaceful meeting of some 60,000 men, women, and children.

Judging from what followed, Colonel L'Estrange seems to have made a skilful disposition of the forces at his disposal, closing in the infantry on the square from several points, while he himself led the Hussars and the Cheshire Yeomanry by a rather circuitous route, viz., along Deansgate as far as Fleet Street (a street which then ran paral-

lel to Great Bridgwater Street, on the site of the present Central Station), then along Fleet Street, and so up Lower Mosley Street, where the artillery were posted, to Windmill Street.

Meanwhile the troop of Manchester Yeomanry stationed in Pickford's yard had lost no time in obeying their summons, and not having so far to go, they were easily first on the spot. They came along Nicholas Street and down Cooper Street. As they advanced along this street "at a tolerably brisk pace," a woman, carrying her two-year-old child in her arms, watched them pass, and then attempted to cross the street. Just at the moment, one of the Yeomanry who had been kept behind, came past "at a hand-gallop". The woman was knocked down and stunned ; the child was thrown several yards, fell on its head, and was killed. This was the first casualty. The sworn affidavits to this incident may be read in the "Hunt Memorial" papers at the Manchester Reform Club. We shall see in a moment that a woman was involved in the second casualty also.

The whole fortune of the day turned on what happened in the few minutes that followed. It must be remembered that the troop of Manchester Yeomanry that arrived on the scene first was a local levy formed not long before, for the purpose of aiding the civil power, and consisted largely of local tradesmen, who seem to have been stung by the taunts levelled at them by the labouring classes, whom they were intended to intimidate. There is no doubt that their horses were not under control and that they were therefore not qualified for the difficult task before them. A mere handful of trained mounted troops properly directed, can, by feints, by backing, by rearing, and by skilful manœuvres, break up and move a large crowd without injury to anyone. All parties are agreed that the Yeomanry halted in disorder. Even Hunt noticed that and remarked upon it, though he was a hundred yards away. On this point we have the clear testimony of the chairman of the magistrates, Mr. Hulton, who in his evidence at the Trial said that "their horses being raw, and unused to the field, they appeared to him to be in a certain degree of confusion". Mr. Stanley, again, says : "They halted in great disorder, and so continued for the few minutes they remained. This disorder was attributed by several persons in the room to the undisciplined state of their horses, little accustomed to act together, and probably frightened by the shout of the populace which greeted their arrival." It is impossible to avoid

asking whether the whole story might not have been a different one, if these undisciplined irregular troops had been held back, and the 15th Hussars—men who were wearing their Waterloo medals, won only four years before—had been employed instead. For be it remembered that up to this moment the magistrates had no intention of using troops to disperse the meeting—that was emphatically stated by Mr. Hulton at the Trial—their decision was to arrest the leaders, and they seem to have anticipated that when that was done, the meeting would disperse of itself, as had happened under exactly similar circumstances at the meeting of Blanketeers.

THE CHARGE OF THE MANCHESTER YEOMANRY.

As it was, the Yeomanry wheeled and, accompanied by the deputy constable, rode through the crowd towards the hustings. Stanley marks them on his plan as starting from a point apparently not far from the entrance to the present Association Hall in Mount Street and riding (as his arrows show) straight for the platform. As they did so they left something behind them on the ground. It was the body of a woman. Stanley marks the exact spot where this body lay, apparently lifeless, through the subsequent proceedings, after which it was carried into the house. This was the second casualty. The Yeomanry entered the crowd to the right of the cordon of special constables, but one of the special constables was killed also.

Stanley's account is as follows: "Hunt began his address. I could distinctly hear his voice. He had not spoken above a minute or two before the cavalry were sent for—the messengers, we were told, might be seen from a back window. I ran to that window from which I could see the road leading to a timber yard (I believe) at no great distance, where, as I entered the town, I had observed the Manchester Yeomanry stationed. I saw three horsemen riding off, one towards the timber yard, the others in the direction which I knew led to the cantonments of other cavalry. I immediately returned to the front window, anxiously awaiting the result. A slight commotion amongst a body of spectators, chiefly women, who occupied a mound of raised broken ground on the left and to the rear of the orators [the reference is to Windmill Street; Stanley admitted at the Trial that he had not heard the name], convinced me that they saw something which **ex-**

cited their fears. Many jumped down and they soon dispersed more rapidly. By this time the alarm was quickly spreading and I heard several voices exclaiming : 'The soldiers ! the soldiers !'"

It is possible that this alarm may have been due to a skilful movement of the infantry in Dickinson Street on the other side of the square, which seems to have taken place at this moment. A witness at the Oldham inquest speaks of "a movement of the people near Windmill Hill. I saw the 88th formed into line, and supposed the movement on the Windmill occasioned by the junction of the 88th. The regiment formed into a sort of crescent, which prevented me from moving either way. I could not get away by any exertion. The regiment prevented persons getting either way". This is an excellent illustration of the manner in which troops skilfully handled can be used to baffle and break up a crowd.

We return to Stanley's narrative : "Another moment brought the cavalry into the field on a gallop, which they continued till the word was given for halting them. They halted in great disorder, and so continued for the few minutes they remained. Hunt had evidently seen their approach, his hand had been pointed towards them and it was clear from his gestures that he was addressing the mob respecting them."

As a matter of fact Hunt's words, which Stanley could not hear, were : "Stand firm my friends ! you see they are in disorder already. This is a trick. Give them three cheers." Bamford also shouted : "Stand fast ! they are riding upon us : Stand fast !" We are reminded involuntarily of Shelley's lines, written so far away yet with such striking intuition :—

Let the horsemen's scimitars
Wheel and flash, like sphereless stars
Thirsting to eclipse their burning
In a sea of death and mourning.

Stand ye calm and resolute
Like a forest close and mute,
With folded arms and looks which are
Weapons of unvanquished war.

Stanley continues : "Hunt's words, whatever they were, excited a shout from those immediately about him which was re-echoed with fearful animation by the rest of the multitude. Ere that had subsided

the cavalry, the loyal spectators, and the special constables cheered loudly in return, and a pause ensued of about a minute or two. An officer and some few others then advanced rather in front of the troop, formed, as I before said, in much disorder, and with scarcely the semblance of a line, their sabres glistened in the air, and on they went direct for the hustings. At first, and for a few paces, their movement was not rapid, and there was some show of an attempt to follow their officer in regular succession, five or six abreast ; but as Mr. Francis Phillips in his pamphlet observes, they soon 'increased their speed,' and with a zeal and ardour which might naturally be expected from men acting with delegated power against a foe by whom it is understood they had long been insulted with taunts of cowardice, continued their course, seeming individually to vie with each other which should be first.

"As the cavalry approached the dense mass of people they used their utmost efforts to escape, but so closely were they pressed in opposite directions by the soldiers, the special constables, the position of the hustings, and their own immense numbers that immediate escape was impossible. The rapid course of the troop was, of course, impeded when it came in contact with the mob, but a passage was forced in less than a minute—so rapid, indeed, was it that the guard of constables close to the hustings shared the fate of the rest. On their arrival at the hustings a scene of dreadful confusion ensued. The orators fell, or were forced off the scaffold in quick succession ; fortunately for them, the stage being rather elevated, they were in great degree beyond the reach of the many swords which gleamed around them." In a footnote Stanley adds : "from the moment they began to force their way through the crowd towards the hustings, swords were up and swords were down, but whether they fell with the sharp or flat side I cannot, of course, pretend to give an opinion". Lieutenant Jolliffe decides this point for us when he says : "The Hussars drove the people forward with the flats of their swords ; but sometimes, as is almost inevitably the case when men are placed in such situations, the edge was used, both by the Hussars and by the Yeomanry".

What actually happened at the hustings we know from the account given in the London "Times" by Tyas, who was present, and was himself taken into custody. "The officer who commanded the detachment," says "The Times," "went up to Mr. Hunt and said,

A Contemporary Picture showing the Manchester Yeomanry Riding for the Hustings

The houses on the right are in Windmill Street; the row on the left is in Mount Street. The hustings and the crowd to the right of the picture are on the site of the Free Trade Hall. The corner of the garden wall on the extreme left is on the site of the corner of the Midland Hotel. On the hustings we may distinguish Hunt and the President of the Manchester Female Reformers

brandishing his sword : ' Sir, I have a warrant against you, and arrest you as my prisoner '. Mr. Hunt, after exhorting the people to tranquillity in a few words, turned round to the officer and said : ' I willingly surrender myself to any civil officer who will show me his warrant '. Nadin, the police officer, then came forward and said : ' I will arrest you : I have got information upon oath against you '. The same formality was gone through with Mr. Johnson. Mr. Hunt and Mr. Johnson then leaped from the waggon and surrendered themselves to the civil power." Stanley, who was a hundred yards away, says : " Hunt fell, or threw himself, amongst the constables, and was driven or dragged as fast as possible down the avenue which communicated with the magistrates' house ; his associates were hurried after him in a similar manner. By this time so much dust had arisen that no accurate account can be given of what further took place at that particular spot. The square was now covered with the flying multitude, though still in parts the banners and caps of liberty were surrounded by groups."

All this was the work of a few minutes, and meanwhile the other troops had had time to arrive. Before we follow these into the crowd, it is right that we should listen to three other accounts of the charge of the Yeomanry. " The cavalry were in confusion," says Bamford, " they evidently could not, with all the weight of man and horse, penetrate that compact mass of human beings ; and their sabres were plied to hew a way through naked held-up hands, and defenceless heads ; and then chopped limbs, and wound-gaping skulls were seen ; and groans and cries were mingled with the din of that horrid confusion. ' Ah ! ah ! for shame ! for shame ! ' was shouted. Then ' Break ! break ! they are killing them in front, and they cannot get away ' ; and there was a general cry of ' Break ! break ! ' For a moment the crowd held back as in a pause ; then there was a rush, heavy and resistless as a headlong sea, and a sound like low thunder, with screams, prayers, and imprecations from the crowd-moiled, and sabre-doomed, who could not escape." Bamford here does not distinguish between the charge of the Manchester Yeomanry and the charge of the Hussars, which followed a few minutes later. It was the latter that caused the " rush " of which he speaks. Though he was a man of five foot ten, and " stood on tiptoe " (as he tells us), he could not, being in the crowd, see everything. Stanley says emphatically :

" No spectator on the ground could possibly form a correct and just idea of what was passing ". He cites this as one explanation of the varying accounts and contradictory statements.

Hunt, who had himself ridden in the Wiltshire Yeomanry, thus describes the charge in his " Memoirs " : " Before the cheering was sufficiently ended to enable me to raise my voice again, the word was given, and from the left flank of the troops, the trumpeter leading the way, they charged amongst the people, sabring right and left, in all directions, sparing neither age, sex, nor rank. In this manner they cut their way up to the hustings, riding over and sabring all that could not get out of their way."

Finally, let us hear the officer speak who led the charge in person. At the Royal Birthday festivities in Manchester on the 29th of April, 1820, Colonel Hugh Birley, in replying to the toast of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry, made a lengthy speech, in which he complained bitterly of the obloquy and outcry levelled against them, " which we should have been more or less than men not to feel ". Speaking of the charge into the crowd, he said : " I observed as I approached the stage a movement in the crowd about the spot from which all accounts agree in stating that the first attack was made upon the Yeomanry. That movement appeared to be intended to throw an obstacle in the way of our advance. Up to that moment the Boroughreeve had walked by my side, but I then quickened my pace in order to prevent an interruption. There was ample space for a front of six men wherever we passed, but I am assured by those who formed the first rank of six that they were obliged to break off into single file before they reached the stage. The mob must therefore have closed in immediately behind the officers who led the squadron." He goes on to speak of the Yeomanry's dash for the flags, which is mentioned below. He does not attempt to deny that it took place ; but there is no object in quoting further from an *apologia* which at the best is a very lame affair.

The arrival of the other troops is thus described in the " Manchester Chronicle " : " Immediately the Cheshire Yeomanry galloped on the ground ; to them succeeded the 15th Hussars, and the Royal Artillery train ; while all the various detachments of infantry also advanced ". Stanley has this footnote on the infantry : " on quitting the ground I for the first time observed that strong bodies of infantry

were posted in the streets on opposite sides of the square ; their appearance might probably have increased the alarm, and would certainly have impeded the progress of a mob wishing to retreat in either of these directions. When I saw them they were resting on their arms, and I believe they remained stationary, taking no part in the proceedings". In his plan Stanley shows the Cheshire Yeomanry halting between Windmill Street and the hustings, and the 15th Hussars halting in front of Mount Street, about opposite to the present Midland Buffet. He says : "The Manchester Yeomanry had already taken possession of the hustings when the Cheshire Yeomanry entered on my left in excellent order, and formed in the rear of the hustings, as well as could be expected considering the crowds who were now pressing in all directions and filling up the space hitherto partially occupied. The 15th Dragoons appeared nearly at the same moment and paused rather than halted on our left and parallel to the row of houses."

THE MANCHESTER YEOMANRY IN DIFFICULTIES.

We have now arrived at the most dramatic moment in the whole story, and it may be well to review the situation before coming to the fateful decision which completed the tragedy. One troop of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry (perhaps consisting of fifty or sixty men) was now practically enveloped in the huge crowd. So serious did Mr. Hulton consider their case to be that he stated at the Trial that he "saw what appeared to be a general resistance . . . the Manchester Yeomanry he conceived to be completely defeated . . . his idea of their danger arose from his seeing sticks flourished in the air as well as brickbats thrown about". We have also, however, the testimony of an officer of Regulars as to the situation. Lieutenant Sir W. Jolliffe, who afterwards charged the crowd with the Hussars, says : "the Manchester Yeomanry were scattered in small groups over the greater part of the field, literally hemmed up and wedged into the mob, so that they were powerless either to make an impression or to escape ; in fact, *they were in the power of those whom they were designed to overawe ;* and it required only a glance to discover their helpless position and the necessity of our being brought to the rescue".

There are two points on which the evidence is hopelessly conflicting : the first is the question of the use of missiles by the crowd.

There is no method of discussing the question except that of quoting the various testimonies. Mr. Hulton stated that his reason for thinking the Yeomanry in danger was that he saw sticks flourished in the air and brickbats thrown about, and "that he saw what appeared to be a general resistance". He afterwards said at the Trial: "I have not stated that bricks and stones were levelled at the Yeomanry and I can't swear it. They were thrown in defiance of the military." Mr. Stanley, on the other hand, says: "I saw nothing that gave me an idea of resistance, except in one or two spots where they showed some disinclination to abandon their banners; these impulses, however, were but momentary; their sticks, as far as came under my observation, were ordinary walking sticks. I have heard from the most respectable authority that the cavalry were assailed by stones during the short time they halted previous to their charge. I do not wish to contradict positive assertions. What a person sees must be true. My evidence on that point can only be negative. I certainly saw nothing of the sort, and my eyes were fixed most steadily upon them, and I think that I must have seen any stone larger than a pebble at the short distance at which I stood and with the commanding view I had. *I indeed saw no missile weapons used throughout the whole transaction;* but, as I have before stated, the dust at the hustings soon partially obscured everything that took place near that particular spot, but no doubt the people defended themselves to the best of their power, as it was absolutely impossible for them to get away and give the cavalry a clear passage till the outer part of the mob had fallen back."

Bamford admits that when a number of Middleton people, who were pressed by the Yeomanry, retreated to the timber lying in front of the Friends' Meeting House, they "defended themselves with stones which they found there," and he tells of a young married woman who defended herself here for some time, and at length, being herself wounded, threw "a fragment of a brick" with the result that one of the Yeomanry was "unhorsed and dangerously wounded". This incident is confirmed by the report in the "Chronicle," which runs: "Another Yeomanry man was unhorsed at the same moment, and his life with difficulty saved. This was near the Quakers' meeting-house, where a furious battle raged." The same paper mentions "large stones". At the Trials it was stated in defence of the magistrates that previous to the meeting the town surveyor had carefully cleared the

ground of all stones, but that after it was over a cart load of stones and bricks was picked up.

Mr. Tyas, the reporter for "The Times," says emphatically that when the Yeomanry rode into the crowd "not a brickbat was thrown at them, not a pistol was fired—during this period all was quiet and orderly, as if the cavalry had been the friends of the multitude and had marched as such into the midst of them. As soon as Hunt and Johnson had jumped from the waggon, a cry was made by the cavalry: 'Have at their flags!' In consequence, they immediately dashed, not only at the flags that were in the waggon, but those which were posted among the crowd, cutting most indiscriminately to the right and left in order to get at them. This set the people running in all directions, and *it was not until this act had been committed that any brickbats were hurled at the military.* From that moment the Manchester Yeomanry lost all command of their temper." One of those who held on to his banner till it was struck from his hand, and his shoulder was divided by one of the Manchester Yeomanry (whom he recognised) was the Middleton journeyman, Thomas Redford. Three years later, in 1822, this man sued members of the Manchester Yeomanry for assault at a famous trial which took place at Lancaster.

After the lapse of a century, perhaps we may, while trying to take an impartial view, agree with what Mr. Hobhouse said on this subject in the House of Commons in May, 1821, in supporting Sir Francis Burdett's motion for an inquiry: He "defied proof that the people began it. When once they were attacked, what could you expect? Were people in the quiet exercise of one of their most undoubted privileges to be unresistingly bayonetted, sabred, trampled underfoot, without raising a hand, or (if the noble lord would allow) without putting their hands in their pockets for the stones they had brought with them? The Rev. Mr. Stanley, who watched the proceedings from a room above the magistrates, saw no stones or sticks used." The mention of pockets is a reference to a report that some of the crowd wore smocks with large pockets, in which they brought stones to the meeting.

The second question that gave rise to much discussion at the Trials and elsewhere was whether the Riot Act was read before the second body of troops was directed to charge the crowd. It was emphatically stated at the Trial that the Act was read distinctly twice: once

from the magistrates' window. Mr. Stanley, who stood at the window immediately above the magistrates, was closely questioned on this point at the Trial in 1822. He said : "I neither heard it read nor saw it read". Similar testimony was given by Mr. McKennell, who stood on the steps of Mr. Buxton's house throughout the proceedings. Further discussion of this point is unnecessary because it seems to be fairly generally admitted that if the Riot Act was read (as it may well have been in a perfunctory way) no one whom it concerned had any knowledge of the fact ; and supposing again that it was read, the time that elapsed between the reading of the Act and the charge of the troops was much less than that prescribed by the Act itself.

THE FATEFUL DECISION. THE HUSSARS ORDERED TO CHARGE.

We now return to the scene in St. Peter's fields at the moment when the new troops arrived. Lieut.-Colonel L'Estrange, who was in command of the whole, and who had come round into Windmill Street with the 15th Hussars and the Cheshire Yeomanry, halted both, rode up to the house where the magistrates were assembled, and, looking up at the window at which Mr. Hulton (their chairman) was standing, said : "What am I to do ?" Hulton admitted afterwards at the Trial that he did not consult his brother magistrates before replying. "There was not time," he said, "for me to consult my brother magistrates as to sending in more military, but they were with me at the window, and I should certainly conceive they heard me. I did not take the responsibility on myself. They at that moment were expressing fear themselves."

Mr. Hulton's fateful reply to Lieut.-Colonel L'Estrange (he repeated it over and over again at the Trials) was as follows : "Good God, sir ! don't you see they are attacking the Yeomanry ? Disperse the meeting."

The scene that followed these words was one that sent a thrill of horror through the whole country—the report of it reached the poet Shelley in Italy, and he says :—

> As I lay asleep in Italy,
> There came a Voice from over the sea,
> And with great power it forth led me
> To walk in the Visions of Poesy,

and he wrote his "Mask of Anarchy". Within ten minutes from the time those words were uttered, those who looked down on St. Peter's fields saw an open space, strewn with human beings, some dead, many wounded, numbers of them heaped one upon the other—and a group of horsemen loosening their saddle-girths, arranging their accoutrements, and wiping their sabres, while all round there was a flying multitude, escaping by the side streets, which were guarded by infantry, defending themselves among the timber lying near the Friends' meeting-house, and eventually making their way to the open country, through which they had marched a few hours before, with bands playing, banners flying, and girls dancing and singing, with an exultant feeling of hope that at last something was to be done for their suffering humanity.

We have many pictures of the scene. Stanley says: "The 15th Dragoons pressed forward, crossing the line of constables, which opened to let them through, and bent their course towards the Manchester Yeomanry. The people were now in a state of utter rout and confusion, leaving the ground strewn with hats and shoes, and hundreds were thrown down in the attempt to escape. The cavalry were hurrying about in all directions completing the work of dispersion, which was effected in so short a time as to appear as if done by magic. During the whole of this confusion, heightened at its close by the rattle of some artillery crossing the square, shrieks were heard in all directions, and as the crowd of people dispersed, the effects of the conflict became visible. Some were seen bleeding on the ground, unable to rise; others, less seriously injured, but faint with the loss of blood, were retiring slowly, or leaning upon others for support. The whole of this extraordinary scene was the work of a few minutes." Bamford speaks of "several mounds of human beings remaining where they had fallen, crushed down and smothered". This is fully corroborated by Sir W. Jolliffe, the Lieutenant of the Hussars already quoted, who says: "People, yeomen, and constables, in their confused attempts to escape, ran one over the other, so that by the time we had arrived at the end of the field, the fugitives were literally piled up to a considerable elevation above the level of the field". Wheeler's "Manchester Chronicle," the principal Tory organ, had the following description on the Saturday following the event:—

"A scene of confusion and terror now existed which defies

description. The multitude pressed one another down, and in many places they lay in masses, piled body upon body. The cries and mingled shouts with the galloping of the horses were shocking. Many of the most respectable gentlemen of the town were thrown down, ridden over and trampled upon. One special constable was killed on the spot; another was borne home dreadfully hurt. The whole of this serious affray lasted not many minutes. The ground was cleared as if by magic."

Bamford's account runs: "On the breaking of the crowd the yeomanry wheeled, and dashing wherever there was an opening, they followed, pressing and wounding. Many females and striplings appeared as the crowd opened; their cries were piteous and heartrending. In ten minutes from the commencement of the havoc, the field was an open and almost deserted space." Mr. J. B. Smith's report of what he saw from the window in Mount Street corresponds.

Exactly how, we may be inclined to ask, was the charge of the Hussars made? Lieutenant Jolliffe, who took part in it, shall answer the question. We must premise, however, that he has his cardinal points wrong. For "south-west" we must read "south-east," and for "south" we must read "east". There is no doubt that the Hussars lined up in Mount Street, and swept the square from Mount Street to Deansgate. This is clear, not only from Stanley's plan, but also from Jolliffe's own statement that his troopers found themselves in Byrom Street after crossing the square. He writes: "Some one who had been sent from the place of meeting to bring us, led the way through a number of narrow streets by a circuitous route to (what I will call) the south-west corner of St. Peter's fields. We advanced along the south side of this space of ground, without a halt or pause even; the words "Front!" and "Forward!" were given, and the trumpet sounded the charge, at the very moment the threes wheeled up. When fronted, our line extended quite across the ground, which in all parts was so filled with people that their hats seemed to touch." When the square was cleared, Lieutenant Jolliffe was sent by his commander to find a trumpeter, in order that he might sound the "Rally" or "Retreat". "This sent me down the street I had first been in [i.e. Byrom Street, or possibly St. John Street] after the pursuing men of my troop."

There are four other points touched upon in Lieutenant Jolliffe's narrative, which should not be omitted if the story is to be complete.

We have already mentioned the loose baulks of timber that lay scattered about to the south of the Friends' meeting-house. These "timber-trees," as he calls them, "could not be distinguished when the mob covered them, and they caused bad falls to one officer's horse and to many of the troopers" of the Hussars. Jolliffe himself went to the assistance of "a private of the regiment whose horse had fallen over a piece of timber nearly in the middle of the square, and who was most seriously injured".

Lieutenant Jolliffe's account of the fight near the Friends' meeting-house, also mentioned above, runs thus: "The mob had taken possession of various buildings, particularly of a Quakers' chapel and burial-ground enclosed with a wall. This they occupied for some little time, and in attempting to displace them some of the men and horses were struck with stones and brickbats. Seeing a sort of fighting going on, I went in that direction. At the very moment I reached the Quakers' meeting-house, I saw a farrier of the 15th ride at a small door in the outer wall, and to my surprise his horse struck it with such force that it flew open. Two or three hussars then rode in, and the place was immediately in their possession."

The statement in the "Chronicle" on the following Saturday to the effect that "one of the Yeomanry leaped his horse over the wall after a Reformer" would seem to be apocryphal, as the plan produced at the Trial showed that there was a drop of 10 feet on one side. I have to thank the authorities who have charge of the archives at the Friends' meeting-house for their courtesy in acceding to my request that the Records and Minute Books for August, 1819, should be examined. They could find no mention whatever of Peterloo.

Lieutenant Jolliffe also clears up the following reference in Stanley's account. Stanley says: "I saw no firearms, but distinctly heard four or five shots towards the close of the business on the opposite side of the square, beyond the hustings, but no one could inform me by whom they were fired". Jolliffe tells of a pistol fired from a window; and a footnote by Captain Smyth of the Cheshire Yeomanry refers to some men on the roof of a house with a gun. "The 88th fired a shot or two over the roof and cleared the spot."

Lastly, the question arises: What use was made of the Cheshire Yeomanry when they arrived in St. Peter's fields? Stanley, who shows them halting between the hustings and Windmill Street, adds

this note to his plan: "My attention was so much taken up with the proceedings of the Manchester Yeomanry, etc., and the dispersion in front of the hustings, that I cannot speak accurately as to their subsequent movements". It is clear that they cannot have charged the crowd from that point. They would have been riding at right angles to the charge of the Hussars. The Centenary Volume of the Cheshire Yeomanry throws no light on the matter. The most detailed contemporary plan shows Yeomanry and foot-soldiers at different points "intercepting and cutting at fugitives". Lieutenant Jolliffe, speaking of the Cheshire Yeomanry and the 31st Infantry, says: "the whole remained formed up till our squadrons had fallen in again". Captain Smyth, who led one of the troops of the Cheshire Yeomanry, says (in a footnote to Jolliffe's account): "The Yeomanry and Infantry stationed at the four corners opened to allow the multitude to escape". We are therefore driven to the conclusion that l'Estrange held the Cheshire Yeomanry in reserve while the Hussars made their charge.

We have at least two testimonies as to the appearance of the fugitives as they streamed into the open country. Mr. Prentice had left the crowd to go to his home in Salford just as Hunt had mounted the hustings. "I had not been at home more than a quarter of an hour," he says, "when a wailing sound was heard from the main street, and rushing out, I saw people running in the direction of Pendleton, their faces pale as death, and some with blood trickling down their cheeks. It was with difficulty I could get anyone to stop and tell me what had happened. The unarmed multitude, men, women and children, had been attacked with murderous results by the military." Mr. William Royle, in his "History of Rusholme," published in 1914, says: "I remember my father telling me that on the day of the Peterloo massacre in 1819 he was standing at the corner of Norman Road, and saw crowds of people coming from Manchester, many with marks of blood upon them received in that murderous affray".

Meanwhile, Hunt, who was brutally maltreated after his arrest, had been hurried with the other prisoners to the New Bailey in Salford. The military and special constables patrolled the streets. Apparently the temper of the crowd had been roused to a dangerous pitch. Stanley, who praises the quiet demeanour of the people before the event, says: "At the conclusion of the business I found them in a very different state of feeling. I heard repeated vows of revenge.

The Prison Cells in Lancaster Castle where Henry Hunt and Samuel Bamford were Confined after Peterloo

'You took us unprepared, we were unarmed to-day, and it is your day, but when we meet again the day shall be ours.'" Bamford, who led the remnant of his contingent into Middleton with a band and one remaining banner, corroborates this: "All the working people of Manchester I found athirst for revenge"; the Middleton folk "brooding over a spirit of vengeance towards the authors of our humiliation and our wrong.". The centre of disorder seems to have been at New Cross. The Riot Act was read at this place between seven and eight, and a number of people were wounded, one fatally, by shots from the military.

But in these days of hospitals and Red Cross Societies our thoughts inevitably follow the wounded as they made their way painfully homewards. Thousands of those at the meeting had come from as far as Bury, and had to walk back. The Committee that was afterwards formed for their relief drew up a list of authenticated cases, from which it appears that we may safely say that eleven were killed and between 500 and 600 more or less seriously injured. The subscriptions to the relief fund amounted to over £3000. As examples, let us follow two of the wounded to their homes on the fateful 16th of August. "It was," says Bamford, in speaking of Redford's wound, "a clean gash of about six inches in length and quite through the shoulder blade. I found Redford's mother bathing it. She yearned and wept afresh when she saw the severed bone gaping in the wound. She asked who did it, and Tom mentioned a person; he said he knew him well, and she, sobbing, said she also knew him and his father and mother before him." There is another point to remember. Reliable authorities assure us that in many cases the wounded dare not apply for proper treatment, for fear of losing employment by being branded as Reformers. We have already mentioned that Redford's case was the subject of a test trial three years later, when he sued the yeomanry for "unlawful cutting and wounding," but the Jury found for the defendants in a few minutes. The other case, a much more painful one, and yet one that must be typical of many, was that of an Oldham youth named John Lees, who had fought at Waterloo, who came home with external and internal injuries to which he succumbed after the most excruciating suffering. Those who wish may read all the harrowing details of this most painful case in the Report of the Inquest, which after dragging on for a number of months was eventually quashed by a legal quibble.

As he rode back across the square, Lieutenant Jolliffe had noticed, lying here and there, "the unfortunates who were too much injured to move away, and the sight was rendered more distressing by observing some women among the sufferers". On the following afternoon he "visited the Infirmary in company with some military medical officers. I saw there from twelve to twenty cases of sabre-wounds, and among these two women who appeared not likely to recover. . . . One man was in a dying state from a gunshot wound in the head; another had had his leg amputated; both these casualties arose from the firing of the 88th the night before. Two or three were reported dead, one of them a constable killed in St. Peter's fields, but I saw none of the bodies."

It was not till half-past ten on Wednesday morning that the Prince Regent's Cheshire Yeomanry, in their blue jackets, with silver-braid ornament, scarlet cuffs and collar, and plated buttons—having spent one night patrolling the town, and another "lying at their horses' heads in St. Peter's fields"—mounted and rode away home, where they were warmly welcomed. Many of them had made their wills before they had set out for Manchester two days earlier, with serious misgivings.

. . . . . .

Such is the story of Peterloo. "After Peterloo" is a story in itself. Into the details of that story—the meeting held at the Star Inn a few days later, to vote the thanks of the "Inhabitants of Manchester" to the Magistrates and the Military—the indignant "Declaration and Protest," bearing some 5000 signatures, which followed immediately, and showed incontestably that that meeting was private and quite unrepresentative—Mr. Francis Phillips's ably written "Exposure of the Calumnies circulated against the Magistrates and the Yeomanry"—Mr. John Edward Taylor's spirited "Reply" to this—the Thanks of the Prince Regent to the Magistrates and the Military, sent at the instigation of Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, whose first remark on hearing of the tragedy was that he "trusted the proceedings at Manchester would prove a salutary lesson to modern reformers"—the "Papers relative to the internal state of the country" presented to Parliament in the autumn, containing the correspondence between the Magistrates and the Home Office—Mr. J. E. Taylor's "Notes and Observations" on these, which Sir A. W. Ward has pronounced to

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Note the women and children, and the Cap of Liberty held aloft in the centre

be " the chief monument of his literary powers and political principles " —the storm of indignation that arose in Great Britain and Ireland—the great meetings held in London and the Provinces to demand inquiry (for summoning one of which Earl Fitzwilliam was immediately removed from the Lord-Lieutenancy of the West Riding, " the Prince Regent having no further occasion for his services ")—the determination of ministers, nevertheless, to burke inquiry, which led to protests on all hands (Earl Grosvenor, e.g. sent £50 to the Relief Fund, " not as a friend of Universal Suffrage," but as protesting against the refusal to allow investigation ; while Lord Carlisle, in a confidential letter, since made public by the Historical Documents Commission, characterised the conduct of the Government in this particular matter as " marked by downright insanity," though he afterwards supported the third reading of their Seditious Meetings Bill)—the protest presented to the Prince Regent by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London—the triumphal procession of Mr. Hunt from Lancaster to Manchester, and his reception by enormous crowds in London—the interminable discussions as to the legality of the meeting, and the right of the magistrates to interfere—the careful investigation by the Relief Committee of some 600 cases of those killed and wounded in the fray—the harrowing details (reported by Taylor himself) revealed at the Inquest at Oldham, which, after dragging on for months, was quashed by the Court of King's Bench, because, forsooth, the Coroner and the Jury had not viewed the body at the same time—the sternly repressive policy adopted by the Government, culminating in the famous Six Acts, in introducing which Lord Castlereagh admitted that the Manchester meeting was not contrary to law, an admission which Mr. Hobhouse immediately seized upon as the text for his masterly " Letter to Lord Viscount Castlereagh "—the long debates in Parliament year after year—the fining and imprisonment of Sir Francis Burdett for too severely censuring the action of the Government—the tramp of the Manchester Reformers over the Pennines to take their trial at York Assizes, in the course of which " the ascent of Blackstone Edge tried the marching powers of the women "—the long days of the Trial itself —the subtle summing-up of the Judge—the verdict against the leading Reformers, as guilty of " assembling with unlawful banners an unlawful assembly, for the purpose of moving and inciting the liege subjects of our sovereign lord the King to contempt and hatred of the Government and Constitution of the Realm, as by law established "—the

quashed appeal—the subsequent proceedings in the Court of King's Bench, when sentence was pronounced, Hunt afterwards serving two and a half years in Ilchester jail, Bamford, Johnson, and Healey one year at Lincoln—the test trial at Lancaster three years after Peterloo, when Thomas Redford sued the Manchester Yeomanry for "unlawful cutting and wounding," and the jury found for the defendants in six minutes—and finally, the periodical discussion of all these things in the press—into the details of these matters we do not enter here.

St. Peter's fields have long ago become part of the great city, the chief centre of its entertainments, strangely enough, and the site of the Battle for Free Trade; the Friends' meeting-house has been rebuilt, and the oak trees have disappeared; the site of Cooper's cottage and garden is now covered by "one of the finest hotels in Europe"; the exigencies of modern traffic have swept away the dark pile of St. Peter's church, whose grimy clock was once such a familiar object; but as we stand in front of the Central Station to-day, the Halls of Pleasure disappear, and the picture that haunts us is that of a stricken field, the victims lying in heaps—"some still groaning, others with staring eyes, gasping for breath, others will never breathe more; all silent, save for those low sounds, and the occasional snorting and pawing of steeds". It all seems so unfair. They were *inarticulate*. They had come, with all the hilarity of a general holiday, to ask that they might have a Voice. They were met by the bungling of incompetent authorities, behind whom loomed the great, strong, repressive Government, saying: "I am God, and King, and Law," backed by a House of Commons that was hopelessly unrepresentative.

Yet their blood, as has been well said, proved in the end to be the seed of some of our most cherished liberties. "The Manchester massacre," wrote Harriet Martineau, speaking, of course, as a Radical herself, "was at once felt on all hands to have made an epoch in the history of the contest with Radicalism". Parliamentary Representation came, and Local Government based on the Suffrage soon followed, the antiquated manorial Court giving place eventually to the Manchester Corporation. In his famous pamphlet entitled "Incorporate your Borough," issued to the people of Manchester less than twenty years later, in 1838, Richard Cobden wrote: "Peterloo could never have happened if the Borough had been incorporated. Why? Because

the magistrates of Lancashire and Cheshire, who entered the town and sat at the Star Inn to take command of the police, and order the soldiers to cut down and trample upon unarmed crowds, would have no more jurisdiction over Manchester than Constantinople"; and in her "History of the Thirty Years' Peace," from which we have already quoted, Harriet Martineau describes Peterloo as "the great event of the year, and the most memorable incident in the history of the popular movements of the time".

. . . . . .

The author of "Childe Harold" speaks of the "red rain" that fell at Waterloo, and "made the harvest grow" on the fields of Belgium. Perhaps we may, not inappropriately, borrow his figure, and say that the red rain that fell at Peterloo, four years later, has helped to ripen another harvest—the harvest of Freedom.

NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

Five of the half-tone blocks are taken from the late Mr. A. Marcroft's "Landmarks of Local Liberalism". For permission to use them we are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. Marcroft of Southport, and Messrs. Hirst and Rennie of Oldham.

The view of Peterloo—the best of several sketches extant—is from a contemporary print now in the possession of Mr. Walter Flinn of Fallowfield. The details are fairly accurate. The houses on the right, at the back, are in Windmill Street; those to the left are in Mount Street; in one of these, number 6, the magistrates met. On the extreme left is seen "the corner of a garden wall, round which the Manchester Yeomanry, in blue and white uniform, came trotting, sword in hand, to the front of a row of new houses". Among the figures on the hustings we can distinguish Mr. Hunt, and a woman whom we may assume to be the "female reformer" who rode in his carriage. The crowd to the right of the picture are on the site of the Free Trade Hall.

The full-length portrait of Hunt is from a print now at the Manchester Reference Library. The bronze medallion of Hunt, now in the vestibule of the Manchester Reform Club, was unveiled by Mr. C. P. Scott on June the 29th, 1908. The illustration is from a photograph lent by Mr. John Cassidy, R.C.A., who designed and executed the memorial.

The Plan of Peterloo has been drawn specially for this publication. It is based upon about half a dozen contemporary plans, including a tiny sketch by the Rev. Edward Stanley, which is useful as showing where the various bodies of mounted troops halted, and the directions in which they charged. The times are of course deduced from a comparison of the slightly varying accounts, and are only intended to be approximate. They cannot, however, be wrong by more than a few minutes.

SYNOPSIS OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE IN THE FOURTH CENTURY ACCORDING TO THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA.

EDITED BY ALPHONSE MINGANA, D.D.

FOREWORD.

THE following pages contain the translation of a Syriac Text purporting to give in a concise form the opinion of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the principal questions of Christian Theology. The keen interest shown by many Theologians in the writings of this illustrious Father of the Church justifies the translator's hope that the same welcome will be extended to the outcome of his labour. We may say of Theodore that not the least of his misfortunes is that he lived in the fourth instead of the twentieth century where he would have possibly had more favourable and sympathetic readers. The epithet "father of rationalism" applied to him by some church historians is true in a sense; his mind so far as known to us from some stray and scanty extracts could not acquiesce in the acceptance of an article of faith which was not proved to be in conformity with a sound judgment and the revealed word of God; he was an independent inquirer laying one hand on his Greek Aristotle and the other on his Semitic Bible, and trying to reconcile both and to direct them to one end; whether he succeeded or not it is not a matter of concern to us, but the fact remains that he was the first writer who systematically introduced the rational element into Christian apologetics, and living fifteen centuries after him we cannot but deprecate, for no other reason than the preservation of Christian unity, the action taken against him after his death by some over-zealous and hasty bishops.

That the extracts here printed are truly Theodore's, anyone acquainted with the inner life of the East Syrian Church will readily admit. This so-called Nestorian Church possessed at a very early date nearly all Theodore's writings in a Syriac translation, and ascribed to him without qualification the title of "The Interpreter" *par*

excellence. When we find, therefore, an East Syrian writer quoting Theodore or Theodore's writings, we may *a priori* conclude that we are truly dealing with Theodore himself. A Christian theologian would find it difficult in our days to misquote Paul, and for all practical purposes the interpreter's name was only one degree below that of the Apostle.

That the Syriac text is in its main lines a translation from the Greek is borne out by the following remarks :—

In question 5 the translator under the influence of the Greek text lying before him used Ammon with an *Alaph* instead of 'Ammon with a guttural ' of the Peshiṭta. Similarly in question 5 the quotation from Luke i. 35 proves that the Syriac translator has preferred the use of "to come" in masculine as it is in the Greek text, to the feminine form of the same verb found in the Peshiṭta. See also question 24 in which the derivation of the words "Episcopus" and "Catholicos" is discussed.

Theodore knew probably some Hebrew. In question 2 he seems to be playing on the word אדני to find in it the meaning of "judge" which in his opinion underlies the name of God, and in question 23 he is endeavouring to derive the word "Nazarene" from נצר, but instead of resorting to the usual interpretation of the Hebraic word, he gives to it the uncommon meaning of "new".

Although the substance of these questions and answers is undoubtedly taken from Theodore, it is probable that the Syrian editor (as he himself suggests) allowed himself a certain amount of freedom in his work. In question 22 the disciple is inquiring about the meaning of the word "Christianity" and the teacher is appealing to its Aramaic equivalent of *Mshiḥāyūtha* as if he was writing to readers not necessarily familiar with Greek. Similarly, in question 5 the pith of the difficulty of the word "power" turns on the pivot of the Hebrew-Aramaic "ḥail" which has the meaning of "power" both in *abstracto* and in *concreto*, i.e. army, forces. In question 35 there is a play on the Aramaic word *dukhrāna*, meaning "commemoration of a saint," "feast," and "in remembrance".

As the 36 questions of the treatise (the numerical division is our own), embrace nearly all points of Christian dogma, it will be useful to give under a few headings a short summary of some of the author's Theological views :—

His Trinitarian doctrine is post-Nicene, and it explicitly or implicitly embodies the teaching and the technology of the first general council (cf. questions 1, 16, and especially 18).

His Christology is that which is generally ascribed to him. Christ is a second Adam (questions 8, 31), but he is God (question 18, etc.) acting in harmony with his Father (question 12, etc.).

Theodore was certainly a sacramentarian ; he frequently mentions baptism, Eucharist, and ordination, but in the mysteries of the four other sacraments of the early mediæval Theology he is not versed. His view on baptism is that it is necessary for salvation, but pagans and children of pagans, and even Christians who *involuntarily*, i.e. not of their own fault, die without baptism, will not go to torment. In question 14 we read the following words : " He, therefore, who is unclean and is baptized, is justified, and he who has no sins and is baptized, is marked with the sufferings of Christ ; further, he who is baptized, is circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, and becomes a temple to God. Those who died without baptism—I am speaking of those who lived prior to the coming of Christ—are not to be blamed, because Christ had not yet died for them ; they were not even ordered to be baptized, but now that He has come and has been killed, he who refuses to be baptized shows that he rejects the baptism of Christ and is a stranger to his life." For more details see questions 13-18 in which the doctrine of baptism is fully elaborated.

So far as Eucharist is concerned Theodore may possibly have believed that the bread and the wine of the Sacramental service are only the symbols of the body and blood of Christ. " We are baptized," he says, " once only, because our Lord died once only, but we perform the symbol of his body many times because it [1] has been given unto us as food of life everlasting " (question 17).

As for ordination he is strongly of opinion that the imposition of hands gives real power to the one who receives it, but nothing is said about the vexed question of who is the right person to impose hands ; must he be an Episcopus, a Presbyter, or any other person appointed by the congregation over which the *ordinandus* is going to preside ? Theodore makes mention, in this occurrence, of the right hand of God, but it is probable that we are to understand this metaphor in a figura-

[1] Or " He ".

tive sense and refer it to the minister's power bestowed upon him by God himself. We quote here in full a remarkable passage the emphasis of which will not escape notice (question 28).

Although there are in the Church priests sinful and false (to their obligations), yet the right hand of God which has been imposed upon their heads is true, and the sacrifice they offer is pure, and because the Holy Spirit is obedient it will come down and flutter over the sacrifice they offer, and it will become propitiation to those who receive it. If a priest is false because of his odious conduct, the baptism which he administers is true, because of the (imposition of the) right hand (which he has received) and if his works are sinful, the sacrifice which he offers is genuine, because of the Holy Spirit, and if he sins, the people will not be punished for his prevarications. It is not the holy who make the Holy Spirit come down by their holiness, nor is it the sinners who prevent it from coming down by their sins ; it is a gift which has been bestowed by God's grace for the pardon of mankind. A priest who defrauds invokes it, and it comes down for the sake of those who do not defraud ; an impure man invokes it, and it answers him for the sake of those who are pure ; a prodigal invokes it, and it obeys him for the sake of those who hunger for it ; a wretched man invokes it, and it submits to him for the sake of those who thirst for it. It does not come down through the works of the man who invokes it, but through the intercession of those who stand behind the minister who is turning his eyes towards it ; it does not look at the sins of the man who invokes it, but it takes into consideration the expectations of those who are asking its intercession. If the priest is a sinner, his iniquity, like his justice, is upon himself alone ; every one is smitten with his own sins. Those who assert that the sacrifice of a sinful priest is not holy, assert wrongly. I shall go even so far as to assert to thee, O my son, and confirm my assertion by an oath, that if a hand is imposed upon Satan, there is in him the hand of priesthood, and if he breaks the sanctified bread and give me of it, I shall receive it from him, and regard it as lacking nothing, and as if Simon Cephas had broken it for me. Do not be in doubt about these things as some people are."

From this long citation we infer that Theodore is in agreement with the rest of Eastern Fathers that the consecratory words of bread and wine in the mass are those contained in the "Epiclesis" and not

" Hoc est enim corpus meum " as stated by the scholastic Theologians of the middle ages.

The eschatology of the author deserves also some notice. It is well known that he disbelieved in the eternity of torments in hell ; this view is implicitly borne out by the present extracts in which he makes no mention of this important point of orthodox Christianity. Whenever he has occasion to treat of after-death torments, he carefully avoids the use of any term savouring of eternity (cf. questions 27, 33). He is also very emphatic on the subject that there is no remuneration of the saints and no punishment of the sinners till the day of Resurrection (question 33).

The following passage is worth quoting : " In the wombs the wealthy and the poor, the slaves and the freemen, the Kings and the wretched are equal ; neither the rich feel any delight nor the poor any want ; but when they come to the world, the Kings are distinguished by their dresses and their honour, and the wretched are known by their lowness and poverty. In this same way, the souls of the just and of the unjust are equal till the day of Resurrection, in which the bodies are born [again] of the earth, their mother, and the souls put on their bodies, as children put on dresses of all kind, then the well-doers will receive their reward and dwell in light and the evil-doers will be thrown into darkness."

Other theories upheld by Theodore in connection with the time and the order of the events dealing with the day of Resurrection and last judgment are expounded at length in question 26.

A few words would suffice to describe the manuscript which contains the present extracts. It formerly belonged to Rendel Harris's collection and it was then labelled " Cod. Syr. 146 ". It is now preserved in the John Rylands Library and consists of mixed contents, the chief among which are (*a*) an interpretation of the difficult words found in the Old and New Testaments ; (*b*) a historical discourse by Epiphanius on the Prophets ; (*c*) a biographical treatise by Eusebius of Cæsarea on the Apostles and disciples ; (*d*) a small Græco-Syriac vocabulary ; (*e*) the *Capita Scientiæ* of Rabban Aphnimaran (VIIth cent.) ; (*f*) the extracts from Theodore of which we give a translation.

The manuscript is dated in the year of the Seleucids, 1861, which corresponds with A.D. 1550. The copyist complains of the bad state

of the manuscript from which he was transcribing, but apart from some easily detectable errors we are glad to say that his *lapsus calami* have been few and on the whole unimportant.

All the above treatises saw the light at a time preceding the Arab invasion. The Syriac style used in them is modelled on that of the Peshiṭta, and a few Greek or Latin words are explained in old Persian and not in Arabic, such, for instance, is the case with καθαίρεσις and *Dux*. The Persian equivalent of the former is *Nawinshtang* (fol. 177[b]) and of the latter *Marzubān* (fol. 171[a]).

TRANSLATION.

By the strength of our Lord Jesus Christ, we begin to write selected questions excerpted from the works of the blessed Theodore, the Interpreter, and briefly arranged.

1. *Question.*—Is God good by His nature or by His will?

Answer.—God is the source of all good attributes and power; the goodness and justice which He possesses are the summit of perfect goodness and justice. He is not circumscribed by the requirements of (human) nature, nor is He subordinated to the order of (worldly) knowledge, because goodness, justice, power, and wisdom are (essentially) His. He is remote from wrong-doing, because He is the Supreme Being capable of creating what He wishes and justly judging what He wills without iniquity; and since He is above all the imperfections and higher than the intelligence of every created thing, a made man cannot define His maker, nor is a creature able to confine its creator within the limits of its knowledge. In proportion as His nature is above all beginning, His definition is beyond the capacity of a creature with a beginning. As a proof to thee that the Creator is good, men did not perform any good work before they were created, that we may say that they received this favour from the Just One, as a reward of their action. Because God is good (by His Nature) He began with goodness and created man.

2. *Question.*—What is the meaning and the *raison d'être* of the word "God". Are we to refer it to things connected with nature or actions?

Answer.—There are people who say that the meaning of the word *God* is *judge*. When, therefore, I say that "God is a righteous

Judge,"[1] there is reason for my saying so; indeed there is no name without reason; He is thus called *maker*, because He makes; *creator*, because He creates; *judge*, because He judges; *Lord*, because He has servants; *All-Seer*, because He sees everything. This is the reason of all these (adjectives).

3. *Question.*—What is the extension and the significance of the word *God?*

Answer.—The word God refers to nature, and is of the category of names which can be applied to other natures without essential transformation of their nature; in this way the name "God" extends to other natures, such as "I made thee god to Pharaoh,"[2] and "I have said ye are gods,"[3] etc. From these it is evident that God's nature is not removed from Him with the removal of His name to other natures. Why? Because the Lord of these names has no grudging. Those who received this name have only received it figuratively without having been gods by nature. It is a name which involves lordship, and thus it fits in with the attributes of nature and extends to other natures.

4. *Question.*—Is God separable from His will, or are God and His will one God?

Answer.—God is God, and His will is not His nature, nor has will any person, because will is in itself an act. It has been said in this respect "God desired the descendants of Noah and Abraham to be without baptism, but now He desires their baptism, and in the world to come He will not desire the baptism of people who were not baptized".

5. *Question.*—It is written that the Angel said to Mary, "The Holy Ghost shall come, and the *power* of the Most High shall descend upon thee,"[4] and the Apostle said, "Christ the *power* of God,"[5] but God also called locusts His power, because He said, "I sent against you my great *power*";[6] Christ and locusts are, therefore, the *power* of God.[7]

[1] Ps. vii. 12. The author is probably working on אדיני from דין "to judge".

[2] Ex. vii. 1. [3] Ps. lxxxii. 6.

[4] Luke i. 35. The translator, under the influence of the Greek text, used the verb "to come" in masculine instead of feminine as in the Peshitta.

[5] 1 Cor. i. 24. [6] I.e. Army (Joel ii. 25).

[7] In Hebrew and Aramaic the word *ḥail* means both "army") in concreto) and "power" (in abstracto).

Answer.—Locusts have been called the power of God figuratively only, and not because they were from the nature of God.[1] Similarly Israel has been called "the powers (= armies) of God," and in this sense it is written, "The king of Babylon sent his power (= army) and besieged Jerusalem".[2] Could he have sent his nature? No. When it is written, "The power (= army) of the King of Egypt came," can it mean that his nature came? No. Was it not called his power simply because of its subjection to him? Likewise in the following sentence, "He sent another one from the King of Ammon[3] and he was unwilling to send his power (= army),"[4] power has been used to denote subjection to the King its sender and accomplishment of his will; locusts, therefore, have been called the power of God because they came to accomplish the will of God, in a manner similar to the expression "power of the King," and not because they were from the nature of God, like the Son proceeding from Himself, who put on our humanity.

6. *Question.*—It is written, "There shall no man see me and live,"[5] why will the man who sees Him die, is it because of the "intensity of His anger"[6] or "the brightness of His essence?"[7]

Answer.—It is because of the brightness of His essence that no man shall see Him and live; because created and corporeal eyes cannot see the uncreated essence. Lo we cannot look and gaze intently at the sun of this world, how can we then look at the creator of the sun?

7. *Question.*—Why was our Lord born of a woman instead of fashioning a body to Himself in the same manner as He moulded and fashioned Adam, the head of our race?

Answer.—Our Lord was born of a woman because men before as after His coming, pronounced unclean the nature of womanhood, and despised the order sanctioned by the Creator; He was born, therefore, of a woman to teach and demonstrate that her members were not unclean, and that the order He had made was not to be despised and abhorred, as the Heretics asserted.

[1] I Sam. xvii. 36, 45. [2] Cf. Jer. xxxiii. 2; xxxix. 1.
[3] By an oversight the translator used Ammon instead of 'Ammon, under the influence of the Greek text.
[4] Cf. I Sam. x. 1-19; I Chron. 1-19.
[5] Exod. xxxiii. 20. [6] Ps. lxxviii. 49. [7] Heb. i. 3.

8. *Question.*—Why was He born of a Virgin without marriage ?

Answer.—He was born of a Virgin without marriage to show that He was the Creator who created also the first Adam [1] without marriage. Further, He fashioned to Himself a body in the womb without marriage and put it on and came out in order to show that inasmuch as sin entered the world by means of the first virgin, and a woman was the cause of our death, so also life was to be given unto us by means of a woman.[2]

9. *Question.*—Why (was He born) of a betrothed and not of an unbetrothed virgin ?

Answer.—He was born of a betrothed virgin in order that it might be proved that she did not commit adultery ; (the girl) who is betrothed is indeed kept under great care, and (in the case) the testimony of Joseph is to the effect that she did not commit any adultery, and that he found nothing blameable in her.

10. *Question.*—Why did our Lord appear from the progeny of David and Judah and not from another tribe ?

Answer.—He appeared from the tribe of Judah in order that the prediction of the prophets might be fulfilled. Jacob said in his prophecy, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a prophet from between his feet, until the Christ to whom government belongs comes, and Him shall nations expect".[3] Another Book says, "The King Messiah will come out of Judah".[4]

11. *Question.*—Why was our Lord circumcised, and why did He offer sacrifices ? There are Heretics who say "If your Lord was circumcised, circumcise also yourselves".

Answer.—Our Lord was not circumcised for the sake of a personal profit, and He did not offer sacrifices in order to be justified by them ; the giver of all these was in no need of them. His only aim in His circumcision was to proclaim, teach, and demonstrate that He was the Son of God, the Maker and the establisher of the Law, and that circumcision was not a point excluded from the Law as the Heretics asserted.

12. *Question.*—Did our Lord die willingly or forcibly ? If He

[1] Note Theodore's doctrine of the first and second Adam.

[2] Cf. Rom. v. 12.

[3] Gen. xlix. 10.

[4] I Chron. v. 2 (Peshitta) ; cf. Testament of Levi, p. 309, v. 14 in Charles' "Apocrypha," and also *ibid.*, p. 323, xxiv. 1.

died willingly, He agreed with His murderers, who in this case would not deserve the pain of death, but are all the more to be rewarded because they have accomplished His will.

Answer.—He did not die forcibly, and He was not weaker than His murderers, who murdered Him because they hated Him and His sender. He died by God's tacit permission, which preserves the free-will of man. If He had saved Himself from the cross He would have coerced His free-will and required that it should not accomplish His desire. He did not coerce His free-will, but He tacitly permitted the act of His crucifixion, and, although able to save Himself from the cross, He did not do so in order to safeguard His free-will and act spontaneously.

13. *Question.*—Was the baptism of John a Jewish institution? If they answer in the affirmative, ask them, "Why did He then baptize publicans and adulteresses, a thing which is forbidden by the Jews, and by their Law? Further, if it was a Jewish institution, why were not all Jews baptized by him?" If they answer, "It was our Lord's [institution]," tell them what John himself made manifest, viz. "He that cometh after me, is mightier than I, and he shall baptize with fire and with the Holy Ghost".[1] From this it is evident that it was not our Lord's.

Answer.—John's baptism was neither from Jews nor from Christ, but it was an institution set apart to be administered only in the water, after repentance from sins and rejection of trespasses. It was thus not more than remission (of sins) to those who believed in it. As to the baptism of Christ, all those who are baptized in it are clad with the Holy Ghost, and filled with the power of God.

14. *Question.*—The baptism thou hast received, what is it and for what? If thou sayest, "For the remission of sins," we would have then been baptized to no purpose,[2] and if thou sayest, "For our purification," I will say, "Therefore, all those who receive it without previous uncleanness, do not profit by it".

Answer.—Baptism is, as it is written, a circumcision made without hands,[3] and renders those who receive it partakers of the sufferings of Christ.[4] A sinner who is baptized, his sins are remitted to him, if

[1] Matt. iii. 11.
[2] Since penitence itself can have the same effect.
[3] Col. ii. 11. [4] 2 Cor. i. 7; Phil. iii. 10.

he turns away from his previous life, but he who has no sins and is baptized, partakes of the sufferings of Christ and receives His mark ;[1] as it is written, "Ye are buried with Him in baptism wherein also ye live with Him".[2] He, therefore, who is unclean and is baptized, is justified, and he who has no sins and is baptized, is marked with the sufferings of Christ ; further, he who is baptized, is circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, and becomes a temple to God.[3] Those who died without baptism—I am speaking of those who lived prior to the coming of Christ—are not to be blamed, because Christ had not yet died for them ; they were not even ordered to be baptized ; but now that He has come and has been killed, he who refuses to be baptized shows that he rejects the baptism of Christ, and is a stranger to His life.

15. *Question.*—If a God-loving man who had wished to partake of the sacrament of Baptism happens to die suddenly in a country where no priest is found, what shall we say about him, is he a Christian or not ?

Answer.—We say about such a man that if he had Christianity in his mind all the days of his life, and if knowingly and lovingly his soul was longing to partake of the sacrament of Baptism, but happened to die, not from culpable negligence but by the will of his Creator who shortened his life, that he is a Christian and has everlasting life.

16. *Question.*—Because some false religions have usurped the august names of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and use them only symbolically while they are alien to the force of their names, and strangers to the very truth of their symbol, if a Christian—man, woman, or baby—happens to be nearing his death, and in that locality where he is there is no believing priest to baptize him, is he allowed to follow a heretic[4] in order to receive baptism from him or not ?

Answer.—He is not allowed to receive baptism from such people, even if he should die, because they do not believe in the true religion, and the symbols which they perform are not genuine. If such a one happens to die, and perseveres in not following them and receiving from them the vain names which they possess, he is an excellent Christian ; because he trusted in the truth and believed that the truth

[1] Not Peshitta. [2] Col. ii. 12 ; cf. Rom. vi. 3.
[3] Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 16-17.
[4] Note *Bar Yulpâna* in the sense of "heretic".

of his faith would purify him, and because he persevered and did not lend his mind to error, nor turn his intelligence to imposters, he is an excellent man.

17. *Question.*—Why are we baptized once only, while we receive the body of our Lord many times and continually ?

Answer.—We are baptized once only because our Lord died once only, but we perform the symbol of His body [1] many times, because it [2] has been given unto us as food of life everlasting and drink of life. Our Lord ordered that it should be prepared and performed on the earth by the faithful and the saints till the end of the world. For this reason, as long as we are in this world, we must not neglect the food of life and the commemoration and the symbol of the passion of Christ, in order that He may be in us and we in Him, according to His firm promises to us.

18. *Question.*—What is Christianity and of what does it consist ? Of works or of faith ? If he says "of works" ask him, "What are these works ? Are they chastity, holiness, asceticism, fasting, prayer, etc. ?" If Christianity consists of these, among the Heretics also there are people who are ascetic and abstaining from food, who would then constitute Christianity ; nay even among pagans there are people who give alms and worship idols, who in this case would also be Christian.

Answer.—Christianity does not consist of good works, but of solid faith in which one believes in God as an essential being, and in the Son proceeding from Him, as Saviour of mankind who put on our humanity, and in the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, as consubstantial with God. This is the august Trinity who created the created things from nothing. In pronouncing three names we do not believe in three Gods ; the Father in His person, the Son in His person, and the Spirit in His person, are one nature, one Godhead, and one power. It is, therefore, obvious that Christianity does not consist solely of good works, but of the knowledge of God. It consists of a solid faith, and of good and pious works.

19. *Question.*—Are all those who love God Christian ?

Answer.—No ; the ancient Patriarchs were God-loving men, but

[1] Note that Theodore believes the Eucharist to be only the *symbol* of the body of Christ.

[2] Or "He".

were not counted in Christianity, because it was not found in their days.[1]

20. *Question.*—Are there people who do not know of Christianity and are Christian ?

Answer.—Yes ; the baptized children and babes do not know of Christianity and are Christian.

21. *Question.*—Are there people who are not Christian and know not what is Christianity ?

Answer.—Yes ; there are pagans and infidels who are not Christian and know not what is Christianity.[2]

22. *Question.*—What is the meaning of the name " Christianity " ?

Answer.—The name Christianity is of Greek origin. It is translated into Aramaic by " *Meshiḥāyūtha* ". Christians are " *Meshiḥāyé*," and Christ " *Meshīḥa* ". True Christians are, therefore, obliged to know the mysteries of Christianity and make use of them in loving and honouring the Christ who died for them, in order that they may not be unworthy of the salvation to come.

23. *Question.*—What is the meaning of the words " Nazarenes," " Nazarenism," and " Nazareth " ?

Answer.—The word " Nazarene " is of Hebraic origin. The prophet Isaiah says, " And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse and a *Neṣer* out of his roots ".[3] Again he says, " And the *Neṣer* which I have planted, the work of my hands, will be glorified ".[4] The meaning of *Neṣer* is " new ".[5] The prophet did not call the teaching of our Lord by this name because it was " novel," but because God was to clothe Himself with a body from the Virgin without marriage in a " novel " way. That is why the prophet called it " new ". Our Lord was called " Nazarene," i.e. from Nazareth, because He was brought up in the Nazareth of Galilee, and Nazareth of Galilee is called the " new " of Galilee, which is interpreted as referring to the Torah and the New Testament.

[1] There is here a question, the answer to which has been omitted by the copyist.

[2] There is here a short and unimportant question.

[3] Is. xi. 1. [4] Is. lx. 21 (Peshitta).

[5] That the word נצר means " new " is not warranted by the Hebrew lexicography known to us ; the author may possibly have had in his mind " new shoot," " young growth," " sprout ".

24. *Question.*—What is the meaning of the words "Church," "Catholicos," and "Bishops"?

Answer.—The words "Catholic Church," mean a perfect congregation, that is to say blameless in truth and fulfilling all obligations. The words "Catholic, Church" are never applied to a congregation of Heretics, because they are not blameless in the true faith, and they do not fulfil the obligations of God's cult. The word "Bishop" means *bearer of hardships;* as to the word "Catholicos" it means "protected" and "perfect," that is to say, his mind is protected from vain thoughts and perfect in the obligations of God's cult.[1]

25. *Question.*—Why do we pray in the direction of the East, and not in the direction of North, South, and West, from which are the Prophets, the Apostles, and the Saviour of the World?[2]

Answer.—God is in height, depth, East, West, North, and South; space does not circumscribe Him, nor does place confine Him; we pray in the direction of the East solely in order that our eyes may gaze in the direction of Paradise and that we may remember our first place which our first father lost by his will. Further, the direction of the East is more noble than the other directions, according to the testimony of the prophet who says, "He brought me to the gate that looked toward the East, and behold, I saw the glory of the God of Israel coming from the way of the East, and his voice was like a noise of many waters and the earth quaked[3] from His glory. And I fell upon my face, and the glory of the Lord came into the house by the gate[4] whose prospect is towards the East".[5]

26. *Question.*—Those who lived in this world in the true faith, while in the knowledge of God they were not less perfect than the faithful, but perpetrated sinful works and committed criminal and impure acts, such as unchastity in their mouth, and bad thoughts in their

[1] He appears to be deriving ἐπίσκοπος from κόπος (labour, toil), and καθολικός from ὅλος (whole, complete), or more directly from καθόλου.

[2] The sanctuary in all the Christian Churches in Syria and Mesopotamia looks towards the East, and all Christians pray in that direction; even the dead are so disposed in their graves as to have their faces towards the sunrise. The direction in which people pray has a great importance in the East, and we notice that special legislation has been enacted for the *Qiblah* in the Mohammedan jurisprudence, the source of which is Koran II, 136-145.

[3] Peshitta = "Shone". [4] By the way of the gate (Peshitta).

[5] Ezek. xliii. 1-14.

mind, while as we have said, they were unshakable in the true faith, what shall we say of such people, and what shall we think about them ? Are they impious, or just ? Will not they enter heaven at all ?

Answer.—Those who in this world did not hesitate to live in the true faith, but made use of bad works, and so left this world, it is possible that they might be, for the sake of the honour due to their true faith, set free from the bad works which they had committed by receiving previously the chastisement due to their bad works. Every work is measured and valued by the All-Seer whose knowledge nothing escapes ; neither the sins of the body of men, nor the odious speech which comes out of their mouth, nor their thoughts and the bad designs of their minds escape Him ; that is why He knows also the measure of their chastisement ; and after He has inflicted disciplinary correction on them according to the measure of their works, they will live again, for the sake of the honour of their faith and other prescriptions which they have kept.

27. *Question.*—A man who holds to the faith and to the knowledge of truth, but conducts himself in this world in a disgraceful way, inclines towards sorcerers, diviners, or augurs, and consults[1] outsiders and astrologers, and puts in practice every small or great augury of demons, what shall we say about such a one, and how can we praise him ?

Answer.—Those who made us of such bad works in this world, and denied the true faith, it is on them that the word of the Apostle is fulfilled, who says, " They profess that they know God, but in their works they deny Him ".[2] If such people turn away from their odious works towards God, they will be accepted, but if they go out of the world in their bad works, they are sinful, and will not receive disciplinary measures, nor will they enter heaven, but will be thrown into the torment.

28. *Question.*—Since there are many who object to the priests who are in the Church, saying, " The Holy Spirit does not come down and flutter over the sacrifice they offer,[3] because there are among them

[1] Note that the verb *sha"el* with a *baith* has the sense of " to consult an augur ".

[2] Tit. i. 16.

[3] The Eastern Churches believe that the consecratory words of the bread and the wine of the mass are those contained in the *Epiclesis*, and not " Hoc est enim corpus meum ".

men who steal, commit adultery, defraud, do violence, and forswear themselves ; how can the Holy Spirit obey these men and flutter over the sacrifice they offer, while they commit such bad works ? "

Answer.—Although there are in the Church priests sinful and false (to their obligations), yet the right hand of God which has been imposed upon their heads is true, and the sacrifice they offer is pure, and because the Holy Spirit is obedient it will come down and flutter over the sacrifice they offer, and it will become propitiation to those who receive it. If a priest is false because of his odious conduct, the baptism which he administers is true because of the (imposition of the) right hand (which he has received), and if his works are sinful, the sacrifice which he offers is genuine because of the Holy Spirit, and if he sins, the people will not be punished for his prevarications. It is not the holy who make the Holy Spirit come down by their holiness, nor is it the sinners who prevent it from coming down by their sins ; it is a gift which has been bestowed by God's grace for the pardon of mankind. A priest who defrauds invokes it, and it comes down for the sake of those who do not defraud ; an impure man invokes it, and it answers him for the sake of those who are pure ; a prodigal invokes it, and it obeys him for the sake of those who hunger for it ; a wretched man invokes it, and it submits to him for the sake of those who thirst for it. It does not come down through the works of the man who invokes it, but through the intercession of those who stand behind the minister who is turning his eyes towards it ; it does not look at the sins of the man who invokes it, but it takes into consideration the expectations of those who are asking its intercession. If the priest is a sinner, his iniquity, like his justice, is upon himself alone ; every one is smitten with his own sins. Those who assert that the sacrifice of a sinful priest is not holy, assert wrongly. I shall go even so far as to assert to thee, O my son, and confirm my assertion by an oath, that if a hand is imposed upon Satan there is in him the hand of priesthood, and if he breaks the sanctified bread and give me of it, I shall receive it from him, and regard it as lacking nothing and as if Simon Cephas had broken it for me. Do not be in doubt about these things as some people are.

29. *Question.*—Children and babes who quit this world without having committed any iniquity and sins, nor done any good and praiseworthy work, where shall we put them or what shall we say about

them ? Will they go to heaven or to torment ? Is there another place which is neither heaven nor torment ?

Answer.—About which children hast thou asked ? The children of the faithful or the children of the unbelievers ?—because we must separate them in our answer. If thou hast asked about the children of the faithful, it is evident that there is no believer who leaves his child without the sacrament of baptism unless (this child) has been taken away by force. The babes who are baptized in the Divine sacrament of our Lord are in heaven, and those who are not baptized through the negligence of their parents go also to heaven, because it was not their own fault that they had not participated in the holy sacrament ; they are not, however, as honourable (in heaven) as those who have the mark of the holy sacrament, because baptism and Eucharist are acknowledged there.[1] As to the children of infidels who leave the world in their childhood without having done anything good or bad, iniquitous or godly, it is obvious that these also are in heaven, because they have committed no sins, but they have not the honour of the baptized, and they are in an intermediary state ; they will not be in torment because they have not perpetrated any crime, and they will not be debarred from heaven because they have not sinned, and thus the grace of God will nowhere be unjust to them.

30. *Question.*—Our Lord asserted to Nicodemus saying, " Verily I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the Kingdom of God ".[2] And He said to the Jews, " Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you ".[3] How can we listen to these words while the above people were neither baptized nor were they eaters of the flesh and drinkers of the blood of our Lord, and have life in heaven ?

Answer.—I have told thee to listen to the inspired books with a discriminating mind. Our Lord told these things to those who *voluntarily* refrained from baptism and from His flesh and blood, and He did not tell them to the believers who *involuntarily* abstained from baptism and from His holy body and blood ; behold to the scribe who had accepted His word He said, " Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God," [4] and not " Thou art the heir of *Gehenna* ".

[1] Lit. " Because the affair of baptism and of the Holy Body is called from where it is imparted ".

[2] John iii. 5. [3] John vi. 53. [4] Mark xii. 34.

31. *Question.*—I accept with reverence all the solutions you gave to these questions, and I want to ask one more question: "Will children and babes who quit this world rise in the day of Resurrection at the same age as that they had when they departed, or will they rise at a mature age?

Answer.—In the Resurrection the Creator will by His power remove all the defects which the bodies of men had in this world, and will quicken the bodies blameless and perfect in form, at the age of thirty years. If somebody says "How do you know that?" we will answer, "Immediately after the creation of Adam (God's) order was imposed upon him".[1] Further, after the law was given to the Israelites God ordered them that a man of thirty years shall do the work of the tabernacle and of priesthood.[2] Our Lord also came to baptism at the age of thirty years.[3] The Messiah, our Lord, is called the second Adam, because He is from His race and family, because He is similar to him, and because He paid his debt; and inasmuch as Adam was created at the age of thirty years, and our Lord came to baptism at the age of thirty years, at this same age shall we all rise up without any sickness, fracture, mutilation, and wounds in our limbs. There is there neither old nor young, but all mankind will rise up at the same age.

32. *Question.*—Is the death of all men from God, or is their death and their departure from this world from other causes of a diverse character?

Answer.—The death of all men may be from God and may also be from various causes. There is a natural death, a violent death, and there is death by misadventure, and by suicide. Men die by one of these four deaths and depart. The natural death is that which has been imposed by God upon Adam and all his posterity, because he transgressed His commandment. The violent death is that of Abel and of the prophets, and of all those who are killed by the kings and the rulers of this world. The death by suicide is that of Saul and his armour-bearer, of Ahithophel, of Judas and of all those who voluntarily throw themselves into the sea or take a deadly poison. The

[1] The Eastern commentators, as we shall presently see, believed that God created Adam at the age of thirty years, and that immediately after his creation the order not to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge was imposed upon him.

[2] Num. iv. 3.

[3] Luke iii. 23.

death by misadventure is that of a man who throws a stone on another man or strikes him violently with his fist, or hurls at him something else, without having previously seen him. The Law has already warned us that "if a man goeth into the forest to hew wood, and the iron slippeth and striketh a man, that he die, the murderer is not liable to death, inasmuch as he did not desire it, and did not hate him from yesterday the third day".[1]

33. *Question.*—The Agapæ which we hold at the commemoration of the dead what are they, and what is the reason of our holding them? There are people who say that it is in order that the souls of the dead may receive rest. It would be for the same reason that we feed the orphans, clothe the widows and the naked, and give rest to the weary.

Answer.—Those who utter such things are alien to the sacred Books, and on them is fulfilled the sentence of our Lord who said "Verily, verily, I say unto you, they have received their reward".[2] If the souls and spirits of men are to-day given rest, as they say, by the Agapæ which are held in their honour, what kind of rest will they be given in the day of Resurrection?[3] The body having remained under earth, it would only be the soul that would receive a good reward both in this world and in the world to come; but the question is not as they assert, because the soul feels neither rest nor unrest apart from the body; neither the just have joy and happiness before the day of Resurrection, nor the unjust have fear and fright before the day of Resurrection. The souls of the dead have no perception, no consciousness that they may feel, as they say, joys or torments, rest or unrest. When the wife of a king and the wife of a beggar are pregnant, the son of the king has no rest while in the womb, nor has the son of the beggar any unhappiness while in the womb, until both are born, and then they are separated; for while the son of the king is luxuriously placed on the purple, the son of the beggar is thrown on mean stuff and worn-out patches. In this same manner the just and the sinners are equal in their deaths, till the day of Resurrection; neither the souls of the just receive the reward of their good works in order that God's promise may not be revoked, nor the souls of the sinners are

[1] Deut. xix. 5-6. [2] Matt. vi. 2.

[3] I.e. What, then, will be the reason of the day of Resurrection, since the reward has already been awarded and the punishment inflicted?

judged and tormented, in order that the judgment to come may not be without object ; they remain like fœtuses in the wombs without knowledge, discernment, rest, or unrest.

In the wombs the wealthy and the poor, the slaves and the freemen, the kings and the wretched are equal ; neither the rich feel any delight nor the poor any want, but when they come to the world, the kings are distinguished by their dresses and their honour, and the wretched are known by their lowness and poverty. In this same way the souls of the just and of the unjust are equal till the day of Resurrection in which the bodies are born of the earth their mother, and the souls put on their bodies, as children put on dresses of all kind ; then the well-doers will receive their reward and dwell in light, and the evildoers will be thrown into the darkness.

The Agapæ, however, which we hold for our departed ones, are not held in vain, but in order that their sins and small imperfections, like light swearing and incontinence of the body, may be forgiven them. This we know from the kindness of our Lord, because there is no one amongst us who does not sin before Him. Behold, I have shown thee that the soul and the body rest together, and that the soul does not rest alone, as the feeble-minded have believed.

34. *Question.*—If a man is nominally Christian, while in his conduct he is wicked and perverse, indulging in sorcery, blasphemy, and other things of this kind, and if after his death Agapæ are held at his commemoration, and on their occasion the poor and the wretched eat and rest, how will he be helped in the day of Resurrection ?

Answer.—On him will be fulfilled the word of the Apostle, " And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned in the fire, and have not love, I am nothing, and it profiteth me nothing ".[1]

35. *Question.*—What profit can, therefore, martyrs and children gather from their own commemorations ? Since our Lord said to His disciples when giving them His body and His blood, " This do in commemoration (remembrance) of me ".[2] What utility can martyrs and children have for this same commemoration, while they are themselves a commemoration to themselves ?

Answer.—It is neither our Lord nor the martyrs who profit by

[1] I Cor. xiii. 3. [2] Luke xxii. 19.

the commemorations held for them, but it is those who hold these [festivals] who are to be guerdoned in the day of Resurrection on account of their love to their Lord, who is the requiter of their good works, and of the honour shown to His martyrs, who will be their intermediary rewarders, and of that shown to the children to whom heaven belongs.[1]

36. *Question.*—Will the world disappear and end before the rising of the dead?

Answer.—The world will not disappear and end before the rising of the dead, but our Lord will appear first and come with holy men and multitudes of angels, as it is written.[2] When the coming of our Lord has taken place, then His force will compel the nature of the earth to give back the dead, and the bodies of the men who were buried in it, and there will be for the souls a time of getting ready and preparation to enable them to receive their bodies together. If the world and all that it contains is to disappear before the rising of the dead, from where will the dead whose bodies are mixed up in the earth, rise up? Those who say that the world will disappear before the rising of the dead are ignorant and stupid. (God) will not destroy the world before the rising of the dead, but will first quicken the dead to witness the passing away of this world, the vanishing of the elements, and the destruction of heaven and earth. The sun, the moon, and the stars will disappear, and then affliction will begin to overtake the mind of the wicked, and joy that of the just, for ever and ever.

[1] Cf. Matt. xix. 14. [2] Cf. Matt. xxiv., Mark xiii., Luke xix.

DRAGONS AND RAIN GODS.[1]

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AN adequate account of the development of the dragon-legend would represent the history of the expression of mankind's aspirations and fears during the past fifty centuries and more. For the dragon was evolved along with civilization itself. The search for the elixir of life, to turn back the years from old age and confer the boon of immortality, has been the great driving force that compelled men to build up the material and the intellectual fabric of civilization. The dragon-legend is the history of that search which has been preserved by popular tradition: it has grown up and kept pace with the constant struggle to grasp the unattainable goal of men's desires; and the story has been constantly growing in complexity, as new incidents were drawn within its scope and confused with old incidents whose real meaning was forgotten or distorted. It has passed through all the phases with which the study of the spreading of rumours or the development of dreams has familiarized students of psychology. The simple original stories, which become blended and confused, their meaning distorted and reinterpreted by the rationalizing of incoherent incidents, are given the dramatic form with which the human mind invests all stories that make a strong appeal to its emotions, and then secondarily elaborated with a wealth of circumstantial detail. This is the history of popular legends and the development of rumours. But these phenomena are displayed in their most emphatic form in dreams.[2] In his waking state man restrains his roving fancies and exercises what Freud has called a "censorship" over the stream of his thoughts: but when he falls asleep, the "censor" dozes also; and free rein is given to his un-

[1] An elaboration of a Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 8 November, 1916.

[2] In his lecture, "Dreams and Primitive Culture," delivered at the John Rylands Library on 10 April, 1918, Dr. Rivers has expounded the principles of dream-development.

restrained fancies to make a hotch-potch of the most varied and unrelated incidents, and to create a fantastic mosaic built up from fragments of his actual experience, bound together by the cement of his aspirations and fears. The myth resembles the dream because it has developed without any consistent and effective censorship. The individual who tells one particular phase of the story may exert the controlling influence of his mind over the version he narrates: but as it is handed on from man to man and generation to generation the "censorship" also is constantly changing. This lack of unity of control implies that the development of the myth is not unlike the building-up of a dream-story. But the dragon-myth is vastly more complex than any dream, because mankind as a whole has taken a hand in the process of shaping it; and the number of centuries devoted to this work of elaboration has been far greater than the years spent by the average individual in accumulating the stuff of which most of his dreams have been made. But though the myth is enormously complex, so vast a mass of detailed evidence concerning every phase and every detail of its history has been preserved, both in the literature and the folk-lore of the world, that we are able to submit it to psychological analysis and determine the course of its development and the significance of every incident in its tortuous rambling.

In instituting these comparisons between the development of myths and dreams, I should like to emphasize the fact that the interpretation of the *myth* proposed in these pages is almost diametrically opposed to that suggested by Freud, and pushed to a *reductio ad absurdum* by his more reckless followers, and especially by Jung.

The dragon has been described as "the most venerable symbol employed in ornamental art and the favourite and most highly decorative motif in artistic design". It has been the inspiration of much, if not most, of the world's great literature in every age and clime, and the nucleus around which a wealth of ethical symbolism has accumulated throughout the ages. The dragon-myth represents also the earliest doctrine or systematic theory of astronomy and meteorology.

In the course of its romantic and chequered history the dragon has been identified with all of the gods and all of the demons of every religion. But it is most intimately associated with the earliest stratum of divinities, for it has been homologized with each of the members of the earliest Trinity, the Great Mother, the Water God, and the

Warrior Sun God, both individually and collectively. To add to the complexities of the story, the dragon-slayer is also represented by the same deities, either individually or collectively; and the weapon with which the hero slays the dragon is also homologous both with him and his victim, for it is animated by him who wields it, and its powers of destruction make it a symbol of the same power of evil which it itself destroys.

Such a fantastic paradox of contradictions has supplied the materials with which the fancies of men of every race and land, and every stage of knowledge and ignorance, have been playing for all these centuries. It is not surprising, therefore, that an endless series of variations of the story has been evolved, each decked out with topical allusions and distinctive embellishments. But throughout the complex tissue of this highly embroidered fabric the essential threads of the web and woof of its foundation can be detected with surprising constancy and regularity.

Within the limits of such an account as this it is obvious that I can deal only with the main threads of the argument and leave the interesting details of the local embellishments until some other time.

The fundamental element in the dragon's powers is the control of water. Both in its beneficent and destructive aspects water was regarded as animated by the dragon, who thus assumed the rôle of Osiris or his enemy Set. But when the attributes of the Water God became confused with those of the Great Mother, and her evil avatar, the lioness (Sekhet) form of Hathor in Egypt, or in Babylonia the destructive Tiamat, became the symbol of disorder and chaos, the dragon became identified with her also.

Similarly the third member of the Earliest Trinity also became the dragon. As the son and successor of the dead king Osiris the living king Horus became assimilated with him. When the belief became more and more insistent that the dead king had acquired the boon of immortality and was really alive, the distinction between him and the actually living king Horus became correspondingly minimized. This process of assimilation was advanced a further stage when the king became a god and was thus more closely identified with his father and predecessor. Hence Horus assumed many of the functions of Osiris; and amongst them those which in foreign lands contributed to making a dragon of the Water God. But if the distinction be-

tween Horus and Osiris became more and more attenuated with the lapse of time, the identification with his mother Hathor (Isis) was more complete still. For he took her place and assumed many of her attributes in the later versions of the great saga which is the nucleus of all the literature of mythology—I refer to the story of "The Destruction of Mankind".

The attributes of these three members of the Trinity, Hathor, Osiris, and Horus, thus became intimately linked the one with the other; and in Susa, where the earliest pictorial representation of a real dragon developed, it received concrete form (Fig. 1) as a monster compounded of the lioness of Hathor (Sekhet) with the falcon (or eagle) of Horus, but with the human attributes and water-controlling powers which originally belonged to Osiris. In some parts of Africa

FIG. 1.—EARLY REPRESENTATION OF A "DRAGON" COMPOUNDED OF THE FOREPART OF AN EAGLE AND THE HINDPART OF A LION—(from an Archaic Cylinder-seal from Susa, after Jequier).

FIG. 2.—THE EARLIEST BABYLONIAN CONCEPTION OF THE DRAGON TIAMAT—(from a Cylinder-seal in the British Museum, after L. W. King).

the earliest "dragon" was nothing more than Hathor's cow or the gazelle or antelope of Horus (Osiris) or of Set.

But if the dragon was compounded of all three deities, who was the slayer of the evil dragon?

The story of the dragon-conflict is really a recital of Horus's vendetta against Set, intimately blended and confused with different versions of "The Destruction of Mankind".[1] The commonplace incidents of the originally prosaic stories were distorted into an almost unrecognizable form, then secondarily elaborated without any attention to their original meaning, but with a wealth of circumstantial embellishment, in accordance with the usual methods of the human mind that I have already mentioned. The history of the legend is in fact the most complete, because it is the oldest and the most widespread, illustration of those instinctive tendencies of the human spirit to bridge the

[1] *Vide infra*, p. 350 *et seq.*

gaps in its disjointed experience, and to link together in a kind of mental mosaic the otherwise isolated incidents in the facts of daily life and the rumours and traditions that have been handed down from the story-teller's predecessors.

In the "Destruction of Mankind," which I shall discuss more fully in the following pages (p. 350 *et seq.*), Hathor does the slaying: in the later stories Horus takes his mother's place and earns his spurs as the Warrior Sun-god:[1] hence confusion was inevitably introduced between the enemies of Re, the original victims in the legend, and Horus's traditional enemies, the followers of Set. Against the latter it was Osiris himself who fought originally; and in many of the non-Egyptian variants of the legend it is the rain-god himself who is the warrior.

Hence all three members of the Trinity were identified, not only with the dragon, but also with the hero who was the dragon-slayer.

But the weapon used by the latter was also animated by the same Trinity, and in fact identified with them. In the Saga of the Winged Disk, Horus assumed the form of the sun equipped with the wings of his own falcon and the fire-spitting uræus serpents. Flying down from heaven in this form he was at the same time the god and the god's weapon. As a fiery bolt from heaven he slew the enemies of Re, who were now identified with his own personal foes, the followers of Set. But in the earlier versions of the myth (i.e. the "Destruction of Mankind"), it was Hathor who was the "Eye of Re" and descended from heaven to destroy mankind with fire; she also was the vulture (Mut); and in the earliest version she did the slaughter with a knife or an axe with which she was animistically identified.

But Osiris also was the weapon of destruction, both in the form of the flood (for he was the personification of the river) and the rain-storms from heaven. But he was also an instrument for vanquishing the demon, when the intoxicating beer or the sedative drink (the potency of which was due to the indwelling spirit of the god) was the chosen means of overcoming the dragon.

This, in brief, is the framework of the dragon-story. The early Trinity as the hero, armed with the Trinity as weapon, slays the

[1] Hence soldiers killed in battle and women dying in childbirth receive special consideration in the exclusive heaven of (Osiris's) Horus's Indian and American representatives, Indra and Tlaloc.

dragon, which again is the same Trinity. With its illimitable possibilities for dramatic development and fantastic embellishment with incident and ethical symbolism, this theme has provided countless thousands of story-tellers with the skeleton which they clothed with the living flesh of their stories, representing not merely the earliest theories of astronomy and meteorology, but all the emotional conflicts of daily life, the struggle between light and darkness, heat and cold, right and wrong, justice and injustice, prosperity and adversity, wealth and poverty. The whole gamut of human strivings and emotions was drawn into the legend until it became the great epic of the human spirit and the main theme that has appealed to the interest of all mankind in every age.

An ancient Chinese philosopher, Wang Fu, writing in the time of the Han Dynasty, enumerates the "nine resemblances" of the dragon. "His horns resemble those of a stag, his head that of a camel, his eyes those of a demon, his neck that of a snake, his belly that of a clam, his scales those of a carp, his claws those of an eagle, his soles those of a tiger, his ears those of a cow."[1] But this list includes only a small minority of the menagerie of diverse creatures which at one time or another have contributed their quota to this truly astounding hotch-potch.

This composite wonder-beast ranges from Western Europe to the Far East of Asia, and as we shall see, also even across the Pacific to America. Although in the different localities a great number of most varied ingredients enter into its composition, in most places where the dragon occurs the substratum of its anatomy consists of a serpent or a crocodile, usually with the scales of a fish for covering, and the feet and wings, and sometimes also the head, of an eagle, falcon, or hawk, and the forelimbs and sometimes the head of a lion. An association of anatomical features of so unnatural and arbitrary a nature can only mean that all dragons are the progeny of the same ultimate ancestors.

But it is not merely a case of structural or anatomical similarity, but also of physiological identity, that clinches the proof of the derivation of this fantastic brood from the same parents. Wherever the dragon is found, it displays a special partiality for water. It controls the rivers or seas, dwells in pools or wells, or in the clouds on the tops

[1] M. W. de Visser, "The Dragon in China and Japan," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, Afdeeling Letterkunde, Deel XIII, No. 2, 1913, p. 70.

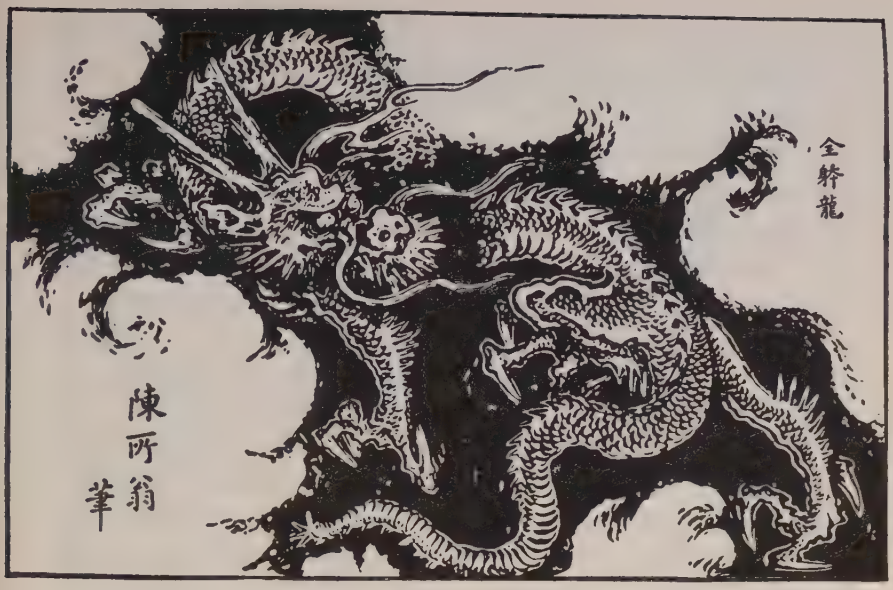

Fig. 4.—A Mediæval Picture of a Chinese Dragon upon its cloud
(After the late Professor W. Anderson)

Fig. 5.—A Chinese Dragon
(After de Groot)

Fig. 6.—Dragon from the Ishtar Gate of Babylon

Fig. 7.—Babylonian Weather God

of mountains, regulates the tides, the flow of streams, or the rainfall, and is associated with thunder and lightning. Its home is a mansion at the bottom of the sea, where it guards vast treasures, usually pearls, but also gold and precious stones. In other instances the dwelling is upon the top of a high mountain; and the dragon's breath forms the rain-clouds. It emits thunder and lightning. Eating the dragon's heart enables the diner to acquire the knowledge stored in this "organ of the mind" so that he can understand the language of birds, and in fact of all the creatures that have contributed to the making of a dragon.

It should not be necessary to rebut the numerous attempts that have been made to explain the dragon-myth as a story relating to extinct monsters. Such fantastic claims can be made only by writers devoid of any knowledge of palæontology or of the distinctive features of the dragon and its history. But when the Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, in a book that is not intended to be humorous,[1] seriously claims Dr. Andrews' discovery of a gigantic fossil snake as "proof" of the former existence of "the great serpent-devil Āpep," it is time to protest.

Those who attempt to derive the dragon from such living creatures as lizards like *Draco volans* or *Moloch horridus*[2] ignore the evidence of the composite and unnatural features of the monsters.

"Whatever be the origin of the Northern dragon, the myths, when they first became articulate for us, show him to be in all essentials the same as that of the South and East. He is a power of evil, guardian of hoards, the greedy withholder of good things from men; and the slaying of a dragon is the crowning achievement of heroes—of Siegmund, of Beowulf, of Sigurd, of Arthur, of Tristram—even of Lancelot, the *beau ideal* of mediæval chivalry" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. viii., p. 467). But if in the West the dragon is usually a "power of evil," in the far East he is equally emphatically a symbol of beneficence. He is identified with emperors and kings; he is the son of heaven, the bestower of all bounties, not merely to mankind directly, but also to the earth as well.

Even in our country his symbolism is not always wholly malevolent

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge, "The Gods of the Egyptians," 1904, vol. i., p. 11.

[2] Gould's "Mythical Monsters," 1886.

otherwise—if for the moment we shut our eyes to the history of the development of heraldic ornament—dragons would hardly figure as the supporters of the arms of the City of London, and as the symbol of many of our aristocratic families, among which the Royal House of Tudor is included. It is only a few years since the Red Dragon of Cadwallader was added as an additional badge to the achievement of the Prince of Wales. But, "though a common ensign in war, both in the East and the West, as an ecclesiastical emblem his opposite qualities have remained consistently until the present day. Whenever the dragon is represented, it symbolizes the power of evil, the devil and his works. Hell in mediæval art is a dragon with gaping jaws, belching fire."

And in the East the dragon's reputation is not always blameless. For it figures in some disreputable incidents and does not escape the sort of punishment that tradition metes out to his European cousins.

The Dragon in America and Eastern Asia.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, and probably also even for two or three hundred years earlier still, the leaven of the ancient civilizations of the Old World was at work in Mexico, Central America and Peru. The most obtrusive influences that were brought to bear, especially in the area from Yucatan to Mexico, were inspired by the Cambodian and Indonesian modifications of Indian beliefs and practices. The god who was most often depicted upon the ancient Maya and Aztec codices was the Indian rain-god Indra, who in America was provided with the head of the Indian elephant [1] (i.e. seems to have been confused with the Indian Ganesa) and given other attributes more suggestive of the Dravidian Nâga than his enemy, the Aryan deity. In other words the character of the American god, known as *Chac* by the Maya people and as *Tlaloc* by the Aztecs, is an interesting illustration of the effects of such a mixture of cultures as Dr. Rivers has studied in Melanesia.[2] Not only does the elephant-headed god in America represent a blend of the two great Indian rain-gods which in the Old World are mortal enemies, the one of the other (partly for

[1] "Precolumbian Representations of the Elephant in America," *Nature*, Nov. 25, 1915, p. 340; Dec. 16, 1915, p. 425; and Jan. 27, 1916, p. 593

[2] "History of Melanesian Society," Cambridge, 1914.

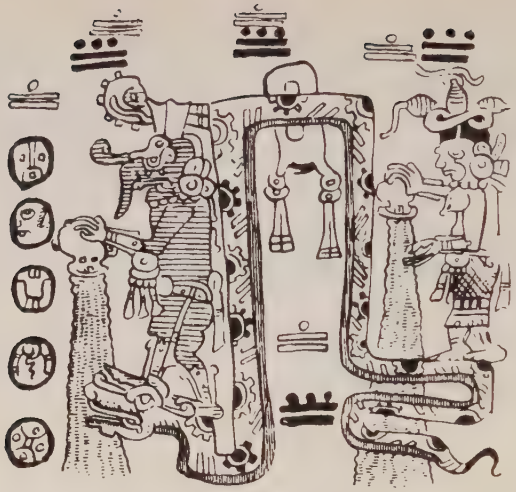

FIG. 8.—REPRODUCTION OF A PICTURE IN THE MAYA CODEX TROANO REPRESENTING THE RAIN-GOD *CHAC* TREADING UPON THE SERPENT'S HEAD, WHICH IS INTERPOSED BETWEEN THE EARTH AND THE RAIN THE GOD IS POURING OUT OF A BOWL. A RAIN-GODDESS STANDS UPON THE SERPENT'S TAIL.

FIG. 9.—ANOTHER REPRESENTATION OF THE ELEPHANT-HEADED RAIN-GOD. HE IS HOLDING THUNDERBOLTS, CONVENTIONALISED IN A HAND-LIKE FORM. THE SERPENT IS CONVERTED INTO A SAC, HOLDING UP THE RAIN-WATERS.

the political reason that the Dravidians and Aryans were rival and hostile peoples), but all the traits of each deity, even those depicting the old Aryan conception of their deadly combat, are reproduced in America under circumstances which reveal an ignorance on the part of the artists of the significance of the paradoxical contradictions they are representing. But even many incidents in the early history of the Vedic gods, which were due to arbitrary circumstances in the growth of the legends, reappear in America. To cite one instance (out of scores which might be quoted), in the Vedic story Indra assumed many of the attributes of the god Soma. In America the name of the god of rain and thunder, the Mexican Indra, is *Tlaloc*, which is generally translated "pulque of the earth," from *tlal*[*l*]*i*, "earth," and *oc*[*tli*], "pulque, a fermented drink (like the Indian drink *soma*) made from the juice of the agave".[1]

The so-called "long-nosed god" (the elephant-headed rain-god) has been given the non-committal designation "god B," by Schellhas.[2]

I reproduce here a remarkable drawing (Fig. 8) from the Codex Troano, in which this god, whom the Maya people called *Chac*, is shown pouring the rain out of a water-jar (just as the deities of Babylonia and India are often represented), and putting his foot upon the head of a serpent, who is preventing the rain from reaching the earth. Here we find depicted with childlike simplicity and directness the Vedic conception of Indra overcoming the demon Vritra. Stempell describes this scene as "the elephant-headed god B standing upon the head of a serpent";[3] while Seler, who claims that god B is a tortoise, explains it as the serpent forming a footstool for the rain-god.[4] In the

[1] H. Beuchat, "Manuel d' Archéologie Americaine," 1912, p. 319.

[2] "Representation of Deities of the Maya Manuscripts," *Papers of the Peabody Museum*, vol. iv., 1904.

[3] *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Bd. 40, 1908, p. 716.

[4] "Die Tierbilder der mexikanischen und der Maya-Handschriften," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Bd. 42, 1910, pp. 75 and 77. In the remarkable series of drawings from Maya and Aztec sources reproduced by Seler in his articles in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, the *Peabody Museum Papers*, and his monograph on the *Codex Vaticanus*, not only is practically every episode of the dragon-myth of the Old World graphically depicted, but also every phase and incident of the legends from India (and Babylonia, Egypt and the Ægean) that contributed to the building-up of the myth.

Codex Cortes the same theme is depicted in another way, which is truer to the Indian conception of Vritra, as "the restrainer"[1] (Fig. 9).

The serpent (the American rattlesnake) restrains the water by coiling itself into a sac to hold up the rain and so prevent it from reaching the earth. In the various American codices this episode is depicted in as great a variety of forms as the Vedic poets of India described when they sang of the exploits of Indra. The Maya Chac is, in fact, Indra transferred to the other side of the Pacific and there only thinly disguised by a veneer of American stylistic design.

But the Aztec god Tlaloc is merely the Chac of the Maya people transferred to Mexico. Schellhas declares that the "god B," the "most common figure in the codices," is a "universal deity to whom the most varied elements, natural phenomena, and activities are subject". "Many authorities consider God B to represent Kukulkan, the Feathered Serpent, whose Aztec equivalent is Quetzalcoatl. Others identify him with Itzamna, the Serpent God of the East, or with Chac, the Rain God of the four quarters and the equivalent of Tlaloc of the Mexicans."[2]

From the point of view of its Indian analogies these confusions are peculiarly significant, for the same phenomena are found in India. The snake and the dragon can be either the rain-god of the East or the enemy of the rain-god; either the dragon-slayer or the evil dragon who has to be slain. The Indian word *Nâga*, which is applied to the beneficent god or king identified with the cobra, can also mean "elephant," and this double significance probably played a part in the confusion of the deities in America.

In the Dresden Codex the elephant-headed god is represented in one place grasping a serpent, in another issuing from a serpent's mouth, and again as an actual serpent (Fig. 10). Turning next to the attributes of these American gods we find that they reproduce with amazing precision those of Indra. Not only were they the divinities who controlled rain, thunder, lightning, and vegetation, but they also carried axes and thunderbolts (Fig. 10) like their homologues in the Old World. Like Indra, Tlaloc was intimately associated with the East and with the tops of mountains, where he had a special heaven, reserved for

[1] Compare Hopkins, "Religions of India," p. 94.
[2] Herbert J. Spinden, "Maya Art," p. 62.

Fig. 10.—A page (the 36th) of the Dresden Maya Codex

Fig. 11.

A. The so-called "sea-goat" of Babylonia, a creature compounded of the antelope and fish of Ea.

B. The "sea-goat" as the vehicle of Ea or Marduk.

C to K—a series of varieties of the *makara* from the Buddhist Rails at Buddha Gaya and Mathura, circa 70 B.C.–70 A.D., after Cunningham ("Archæological Survey of India," Vol. III, 1873, Plates IX and XXIX).

L. The *makara* as the vehicle of Varuna, after Sir George Birdwood. It is not difficult to understand how, in the course of the easterly diffusion of culture, such a picture should develop into the Chinese Dragon or the American Elephant-headed God.

warriors who fell in battle and women who died in childbirth. As a water-god also he presided over the souls of the drowned and those who in life suffered from dropsical affections. Indra also specialized in the same branch of medicine.

In fact, if one compares the account of Tlaloc's attributes and achievements, such as is given in Mr. Joyce's "Mexican Archæology" or Professor Seler's monograph on the "Codex Vaticanus," with Professor Hopkins's summary of Indra's character ("Religions of India") the identity is so exact, even in the most arbitrary traits and confusions with other deities' peculiarities, that it becomes impossible for any serious investigator to refuse to admit that Tlaloc and Chac are merely American forms of Indra. Even so fantastic a practice as the representation of the American rain-god's face as composed of contorted snakes [1] finds its analogy in Siam, where in relatively recent times this curious device was still being used by artists.[2]

"As the god of fertility maize belonged to him [Tlaloc], though not altogether by right, for according to one legend he stole it after it had been discovered by other gods concealed in the heart of a mountain." [3] Indra also obtained soma from the mountain by similar means [4]

In the ancient civilization of America one of the most prominent deities was called the "Feathered Serpent," in the Maya language, Kukulkan, Quiché Gukumatz, Aztec Quetzalcoatl, the Pueblo "Mother of Waters". Throughout a very extensive part of America the snake, like the Indian Nâga, is the emblem of rain, clouds, thunder and lightning. But it is essentially and pre-eminently the symbol of rain; and the god who controls the rain, Chac of the Mayas, Tlaloc of the Aztecs, carried the axe and the thunderbolt like his homologues and prototypes in the Old World. In America also we find reproduced in full, not only the legends of the antagonism between the

[1] Seler, "Codex Vaticanus," Figs. 299-304.

[2] See, for example, F. W. K. Müller, "Nang," *Int. Arch. f. Ethnolog.*, 1894, Suppl. zu Bd. vii., Taf. vii., where the mask of *Ravana* (a late surrogate of Indra in the *Ramayana*) reveals a survival of the prototype of the Mexican designs.

[3] Joyce, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[4] For the incident of the stealing of the soma by Garuda, who in this legend is the representative of Indra, see Hopkins, "Religions of India," pp. 360-61.

thunder-bird and the serpent, but also the identification of these two rivals in one composite monster, which, as I have already mentioned, is seen in the winged disks, both in the Old World and the New.[1] Hardly any incident in the history of the Egyptian falcon or the thunder-birds of Babylonia, Greece or India, fails to reappear in America and find pictorial expression in the Maya and Aztec codices.

What makes America such a rich storehouse of historical data is the fact that it is stretched across the world almost from pole to pole; and for many centuries the jetsam and flotsam swept on to this vast strand has made it a museum of the cultural history of the Old World, much of which would have been lost for ever if America had not saved it. But a record preserved in this manner is necessarily in a highly confused state. For essentially the same materials reached America in manifold forms. The original immigrants into America brought from North-Eastern Asia such cultural equipment as had reached the area east of the Yenesei at the time when Europe was in the Neolithic phase of culture. Then when ancient mariners began to coast along the Eastern Asiatic littoral and make their way to America by the Aleutian route there was a further infiltration of new ideas. But when more venturesome sailors began to navigate the open seas and exploit Polynesia, for centuries[2] there was a more or less constant influx of customs and beliefs, which were drawn from Egypt and Babylonia, from the Mediterranean and East Africa, from India and Indonesia, China and Japan, Cambodia and Oceania. One and the same fundamental idea, such as the attributes of the serpent as a water-god, reached America in an infinite variety of guises, Egyptian, Babylonian, Indian, Indonesian, Chinese and Japanese, and from this amazing jumble of confusion the local priesthood of Central America built up a system of beliefs which is distinctively American, though most of the ingredients and the principles of synthetic composition were borrowed from the Old World.

Every possible phase of the early history of the dragon-story and all the ingredients which in the Old World went to the making

[1] "The Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilization in the East and in America," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 1916, Fig. 4, "The Serpent-Bird".

[2] Probably from about 300 B.C. to 700 A.D.

Fig. 10.

A photographic reproduction of the 36th page of the Dresden Maya Codex.

Of the three pictures in the top row one represents the elephant-headed god *Chac* with a snake's body. He is pouring out rain. The central picture represents the lightning animal carrying fire down from heaven to earth. On the right *Chac* is shown in human guise carrying thunderweapons in the form of burning torches.

In the second row a goddess sits in the rain: her head is prolonged into that of a bird, holding a fish in its beak. The central picture shows *Chac* in his boat ferrying a woman across the water from the East. The third illustration depicts the familiar conflict between the vulture and serpent.

In the third row *Chac* is seen with his axe: in the central picture he is standing in the water looking up towards a rain-cloud; and on the right he is shown sitting in a hut resting from his labours.

Fig. 11.

of it have been preserved in American pictures and legends in a bewildering variety of forms and with an amazing luxuriance of complicated symbolism and picturesque ingenuity. In America, as in India and Eastern Asia, the power controlling water was identified both with a serpent (which in the New World, as in the Old, was often equipped with such inappropriate and arbitrary appendages, as wings, horns and crests) and a god, who was either associated or confused with an elephant. Now many of the attributes of these gods, as personifications of the life-giving powers of water, are identical with those of the Babylonian god Ea and the Egyptian Osiris, and their reputations as warriors with the respective sons and representatives, Marduk and Horus. The composite animal of Ea-Marduk, the "sea-goat" (the Capricornus of the Zodiac), was also the vehicle of Varuna in India, whose relationship to Indra was in some respects analogous to that of Ea to Marduk in Babylonia.[1] The Indian "sea-goat" or *Makara* was in fact intimately associated both with Varuna and with Indra. This monster assumed a great variety of forms, such as the crocodile, the dolphin, the sea-serpent or dragon, or combinations of the heads of different animals with a fish's body (Fig. 11). Amongst these we find an elephant-headed form of the *makara*, which was adopted as far east as Indonesia and as far west as Scotland.

I have already called attention[2] to the part played by the *makara* in determining the development of the form of the elephant-headed god in America. Another form of the *makara* is described in the following American legend, which is interesting also as a mutilated version of the original dragon-story of the Old World.

In 1912 Hernández translated and published a Maya manuscript[3] which had been written out in Spanish characters in the early days

[1] For information concerning Ea's "Goat-Fish," which can truly be called the "Father of Dragons," as well as the prototype of the Indian *makara*, the mermaid, the "sea-serpent," the "dolphin of Aphrodite," and of most composite sea-monsters, see W. H. Ward's "Seal Cylinders of Western Asia," pp. 382 *et seq.* and 399 *et seq.*; and especially the detailed reports in de Morgan's *Mémoires* (Délégation en Perse).

[2] *Nature*, *op. cit.*, *supra*.

[3] Juan Martinez Hernández, "La Creación del Mundo segun los Mayas," Páginas Inéditas del MS. De Chumayel, *International Congress of Americanists*, *Proceedings of the XVIII. Session*, London, 1912, p. 164.

of the conquest of the Americas, but had been overlooked until six years ago. It is an account of the creation, and includes the following passages: "All at once came the water [? rain] after the dragon was carried away. The heaven was broken up; it fell upon the earth; and they say that *Cantùl-ti-ku* (four gods), the four Baccab, were those who destroyed it. . . . 'The whole world,' said *Ah-uuc-chek-nale* (he who seven times makes fruitful), 'proceeded from the seven bosoms of the earth.' And he descended to make fruitful *Itzam-kab-ain* (the female whale with alligator-feet), when he came down from the central angle of the heavenly region" (p. 171).

Hernández adds that "the old fishermen of Yucatan still call the whale *Itzam:* this explains the name of *Itzaes*, by which the Mayas were known before the founding of Mayapan".

The close analogy to the Indra-story is suggested by the phrase describing the coming of the water "after the dragon was carried away". Moreover, the Indian sea-elephant *makara*, which was confused in the Old World with the dolphin of Aphrodite, and was sometimes also regarded as a crocodile, naturally suggests that the "female whale with the alligator-feet" was only an American version of the old Indian legend.

All this serves, not only to corroborate the inferences drawn from the other sources of information which I have already indicated, but also to suggest that, in addition to borrowing the chief divinities of their pantheon from India, the Maya people's original name was derived from the same mythology.[1]

It is of considerable interest and importance to note that in the earliest dated example of Maya workmanship (from Tuxtla, in the Vera Cruz State of Mexico), for which Spinden assigns a tentative date of 235 B.C., an unmistakable elephant figures among the four hieroglyphs which Spinden reproduces (*op. cit.*, p. 171). A similar hieroglyphic sign is found in the Chinese records of the Early Chow Dynasty (John Ross, "The Origin of the Chinese People," 1916, p. 152).

The use of the numerals four and seven in the narrative translated

[1] From the folk-lore of America I have collected many interesting variants of the Indra story and other legends (and artistic designs) of the elephant. I hope to publish these in the near future.

by Hernândez, as in so many other American documents, is itself, as Mrs. Zelia Nuttall has so conclusively demonstrated,[1] a most striking and conclusive demonstration of the link with the Old World.

Indra was not the only Indian god who was transferred to America, for all the associated deities, with the characteristic stories of their exploits,[2] are also found depicted with childlike directness of incident, but amazingly luxuriant artistic phantasy, in the Maya and Aztec codices.

We find scattered throughout the islands of the Pacific the familiar stories of the dragon. One mentioned by the Bishop of Wellington refers to a New Zealand dragon with jaws like a crocodile's, which spouted water like a whale. It lived in a fresh-water lake.[3] In the same number of the same *Journal* Sir George Grey gives extracts from a Maori legend of the dragon, which he compares with corresponding passages from Spenser's "Faery Queen". "Their strict verbal and poetical conformity with the New Zealand legends are such as at first to lead to the impression either that Spenser must have stolen his images and language from the New Zealand poets, or that they must have acted unfairly by the English bard" (p. 362). The Maori legend describes the dragon as "in size large as a monstrous whale, in shape like a hideous lizard; for in its huge head, its limbs, its tail, its scales, its tough skin, its sharp spines, yes, in all these it resembled a lizard" (p. 364).

Now the attributes of the Chinese and Japanese dragon as the controller of rain, thunder and lightning are identical with those of the American elephant-headed god. It also is associated with the East and with the tops of mountains. It is identified with the Indian Nâga, but the conflict involved in this identification is less obtrusive than it is either in America or in India. In Dravidian India the rulers and the gods are identified with the serpent: but among the Aryans, who were hostile to the Dravidians, the rain-god is the enemy of the Nâga. In America the confusion becomes more pronounced because Tlaloc (Chac) represents both Indra and his enemy the serpent. The representation in the codices of his conflict with the serpent is merely a tra-

[1] *Peabody Museum Papers*, 1901.

[2] See, for example, Wilfrid Jackson's "Shells as Evidence of the Migration of Early Culture," pp. 50-66.

[3] "Notes on the Maoris, etc.," *Journal of the Ethnological Society*, vol. i., 1869, p. 368.

dition which the Maya and Aztec scribes followed, apparently without understanding its meaning.

In China and Japan the Indra-episode plays a much less prominent part, for the dragon is, like the Indian Nâga, a beneficent creature, which approximates more nearly to the Babylonian Ea or the Egyptian Osiris. It is not only the controller of water, but the impersonation of water and its life-giving powers : it is identified with the emperor, with his standard, with the sky, and with all the powers that give, maintain, and prolong life and guard against all kinds of danger to life. In other words, it is the bringer of good luck, the rejuvenator of mankind, the giver of immortality.

But if the physiological functions of the dragon of the Far East can thus be assimilated to those of the Indian Nâga and the Babylonian and Egyptian Water God, who is also the king, anatomically he is usually represented in a form which can only be regarded as the Babylonian composite monster, as a rule stripped of his wings, though not of his avian feet.

In America we find preserved in the legends of the Indians an accurate and unmistakable description of the Japanese dragon (which is mainly Chinese in origin). Even Spinden, who "does not care to dignify by refutation the numerous empty theories of ethnic connections between Central America" [and in fact America as a whole] "and the Old World," makes the following statement (in the course of a discussion of the myths relating to horned snakes in California) : "a similar monster, possessing antlers, and sometimes wings, is also very common in Algonkin and Iroquois legends, although rare in art. As a rule the horned serpent is a water spirit and an enemy of the thunder bird. Among the Pueblo Indians the horned snake seems to have considerable prestige in religious belief. . . . It lives in the water or in the sky and is connected with rain or lightning." [1]

Thus we find stories of a dragon equipped with those distinctive tokens of Chinese origin, the deer's antlers ; and along with it a snake with less specialized horns suggesting the Cerastes of Egypt and Babylonia. A horned viper distantly akin to the Cerastes of the Old World does occur in California ; but its "horns" are so insignificant as to make it highly improbable that they could have been in any way responsible for the obtrusive role played by horns in these widespread

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

American stories. But the proof of the foreign origin of these stories is established by the horned serpent's achievements.

It "lives in the water or the sky" like its homologue in the Old World, and it is "a water spirit". Now neither the Cobra nor the Cerastes is actually a water serpent. Their achievements in the myths therefore have no possible relationship with the natural habits of the real snakes. They are purely arbitrary attributes which they have acquired as the result of a peculiar and fortuitous series of historical incidents.

It is therefore utterly inconceivable and in the highest degree improbable that this long chain of chance circumstances should have happened a second time in America, and have been responsible for the creation of the same bizarre story in reference to one of the rarer American snakes of a localized distribution, whose horns are mere vestiges, which no one but a trained morphologist is likely to have noticed or recognized as such.

But the American horned serpent, like its Babylonian and Indian homologues, is also the enemy of the thunder bird. Here is a further corroboration of the transmission to America of ideas which were the chance result of certain historical events in the Old World, which I have mentioned in this lecture.

In the figure on page 335 I reproduce a remarkable drawing of an American dragon. If the Algonkin Indians had not preserved legends of a winged serpent equipped with deer's antlers, no value could be assigned to this sketch: but as we know that this particular tribe retains the legend of just such a wonder-beast, we are justified in treating this drawing as something more than a jest.

"Petroglyphs are reported by Mr. John Criley as occurring near Ava, Jackson County, Illinois. The outlines of the characters observed by him were drawn from memory and submitted to Mr. Charles S. Mason, of Toledo, Ohio, through whom they were furnished to the Bureau of Ethnology. Little reliance can be placed upon the accuracy of such drawing, but from the general appearance of the sketches the originals of which they are copies were probably made by one of the middle Algonquin tribes of Indians.[1]

[1] I quote this and the following paragraphs verbatim from Garrick Mallery, "Picture Writing of the American Indians," 10*th Annual Report*, 1888-89, *Bureau of Ethnology* (*Smithsonian Institute*), p. 78.

"The 'Piasa' rock, as it is generally designated, was referred to by the missionary explorer Marquette in 1675. Its situation was immediately above the city of Alton, Illinois."

Marquette's remarks are translated by Dr. Francis Parkman as follows :—

"On the flat face of a high rock were painted, in red, black, and green, a pair of monsters, each 'as large as a calf, with horns like a deer, red eyes, a beard like a tiger, and a frightful expression of countenance. The face is something like that of a man, the body covered with scales ; and the tail so long that it passes entirely round the body, over the head, and between the legs, ending like that of a fish.'"

Another version, by Davidson and Struve, of the discovery of the petroglyph is as follows :—

"Again they (Joliet and Marquette) were floating on the broad bosom of the unknown stream. Passing the mouth of the Illinois, they soon fell into the shadow of a tall promontory, and with great astonishment beheld the representation of two monsters painted on its lofty limestone front. According to Marquette, each of these frightful figures had the face of a man, the horns of a deer, the beard of a tiger, and the tail of a fish so long that it passed around the body, over the head, and between the legs. It was an object of Indian worship and greatly impressed the mind of the pious missionary with the necessity of substituting for this monstrous idolatry the worship of the true God."

A footnote connected with the foregoing quotation gives the following description of the same rock :—

"Near the mouth of the Piasa creek, on the bluff, there is a smooth rock in a cavernous cleft, under an overhanging cliff, on whose face 50 feet from the base, are painted some ancient pictures or hieroglyphics, of great interest to the curious. They are placed in a horizontal line from east to west, representing men, plants and animals. The paintings, though protected from dampness and storms, are in great part destroyed, marred by portions of the rock becoming detached and falling down."

Mr. McAdams, of Alton, Illinois, says, "The name Piasa is Indian and signifies, in the Illini, the bird which devours men". He furnishes a spirited pen-and-ink sketch, 12 by 15 inches in size and purporting to represent the ancient painting described by Marquette.

On the picture is inscribed the following in ink: "Made by Wm. Dennis, April 3rd, 1825". The date is in both letters and figures. On the top of the picture in large letters are the two words, "FLYING DRAGON". This picture, which has been kept in the old Gilham family of Madison county and bears the evidence of its age, is reproduced as Fig. 3.

He also publishes another representation with the following remarks:—

"One of the most satisfactory pictures of the Piasa we have ever seen is in an old German publication entitled 'The Valley of the Mississippi Illustrated. Eighty illustrations from Nature, by H. Lewis, from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Gulf of Mexico,' published about the year 1839 by Arenz & Co., Dusseldorf, Germany. One of the

FIG. 3.—WM. DENNIS'S DRAWING OF THE "FLYING DRAGON" DEPICTED ON THE ROCKS AT PIASA, ILLINOIS.

large full-page plates in this work gives a fine view of the bluff at Alton, with the figure of the Piasa on the face of the rock. It is represented to have been taken on the spot by artists from Germany. . . . In the German picture there is shown just behind the rather dim outlines of the second face a ragged crevice, as though of a fracture. Part of the bluff's face might have fallen and thus nearly destroyed one of the monsters, for in later years writers speak of but one figure. The whole face of the bluff was quarried away in 1846-47."

The close agreement of this account with that of the Chinese and Japanese dragon at once arrests attention. The anatomical peculiarities are so extraordinary that if Père Marquette's account is trustworthy there is no longer any room for doubt of the Chinese or Japanese derivation of this composite creature. If the account is not accepted we will be driven, not only to attribute to the pious seventeenth-century missionary serious dishonesty or culpable gullibility, but also to credit him with

a remarkably precise knowledge of Mongolian archæology. When Algonkin legends are recalled, however, I think we are bound to accept the missionary's account as substantially accurate.

Minns claims that representations of the dragon are unknown in China before the Han dynasty. But the legend of the dragon is much more ancient. The evidence has been given in full by de Visser.[1]

He tells us that the earliest reference is found in the *Yih King*, and shows that the dragon was "a water animal akin to the snake, which [used] to sleep in pools during winter and arises in the spring". "It is the god of thunder, who brings good crops when he appears in the rice fields (as rain) or in the sky (as dark and yellow clouds), in other words when he makes the rain fertilize the ground" (p. 38).

In the *Shu King* there is a reference to the dragon as one of the symbolic figures painted on the upper garment of the emperor Hwang Ti (who according to the Chinese legends, which of course are not above reproach, reigned in the twenty-seventh century B.C.). In this ancient literature there are numerous references to the dragon, and not merely to the legends, *but also to representations* of the benign monster on garments, banners and metal tablets.[2] "The ancient texts . . . are short, but sufficient to give us the main conceptions of Old China with regard to the dragon. In those early days [just as at present] he was the god of water, thunder, clouds, and rain, the harbinger of blessings, and the symbol of holy men. As the emperors are the holy beings on earth, the idea of the dragon being the symbol of Imperial power is based upon this ancient conception" (*op. cit.*, p. 42).

In the fifth appendix to the *Yih King*, which has been ascribed to Confucius (i.e. three centuries earlier than the Han dynasty mentioned by Mr. Minns), it is stated that "*K'ien* (Heaven) is a horse, *Kw'un* (Earth) is a cow, *Chen* (*Thunder*) *is a dragon*" (*op. cit.*, p. 37).[3]

The philosopher Hwai Nan Tsze (who died 122 B.C.) declared that the dragon is the origin of all creatures, winged, hairy, scaly, and

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 35 *et seq.*

[2] See de Visser, p. 41.

[3] There can be no doubt that the Chinese dragon is the descendant of the early Babylonian monster, and that the inspiration to create it probably reached Shensi during the third millennium B.C. by the route indicated in my "Incense and Libations" (*Bull. John Rylands Library*, vol. iv., No. 2, p. 239). Some centuries later the Indian dragon reached the Far East via Indonesia and mingled with his Babylonian cousin in Japan and China.

mailed ; and he propounded a scheme of evolution (de Visser, p. 65). He seems to have tried to explain away the fact that he had never actually witnessed the dragon performing some of the remarkable feats attributed to it : " Mankind cannot see the dragons rise : wind and rain assist them to ascend to a great height " (*op. cit.*, p. 65). Confucius also is credited with the frankness of a similar confession : " As to the dragon, we cannot understand his riding on the wind and clouds and his ascending to the sky. To-day I saw Lao Tsze ; is he not like the dragon ? " (p. 65).

This does not necessarily mean that these learned men were sceptical of the beliefs which tradition had forged in their minds, but that the dragon had the power of hiding itself in a cloak of invisibility, just as clouds (in which the Chinese saw dragons) could be dissipated in the sky. The belief in these powers of the dragon was as sincere as that of learned men of other countries in the beneficent attributes which tradition had taught them to assign to their particular deities. In the passages I have quoted the Chinese scholars were presumably attempting to bridge the gap between the ideas inculcated by faith and the evidence of their senses, in much the same sort of spirit as, for instance, actuated Dean Buckland last century, when he claimed that the glacial deposits of this country afforded evidence in confirmation of the Deluge described in the Book of Genesis.

The tiger and the dragon, the gods of wind and water, are the keystones of the doctrine called *fung shui*, which Professor de Groot has described in detail.[1]

He describes it " as a quasi-scientific system, supposed to teach men where and how to build graves, temples, and dwellings, in order that the dead, the gods, and the living may be located therein exclusively, or as far as possible, under the auspicious influences of Nature ". The dragon plays a most important part in this system, being " the chief spirit of water and rain, and at the same time representing one of the four quarters of heaven (i.e. the East, called the Azure Dragon, and the first of the seasons, spring)." The word Dragon comprises the high grounds in general, and the water streams which have their sources therein or wind their way through them.[2]

[1] " Religious System of China," vol. iii., chap. xii., pp. 936-1056.

[2] This paragraph is taken almost verbatim from de Visser, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 and 60.

The attributes thus assigned to the Blue Dragon, his control of water and streams, his dwelling on high mountains whence they spring, and his association with the East, will be seen to reveal his identity with the so-called "god B" of American archæologists, the elephant-headed god *Tlaloc* of the Aztecs, *Chac* of the Mayas, whose more direct parent was Indra.

It is of interest to note that, according to Gerini,[1] the word *Nâga* denotes not only a snake but also an elephant. Both the Chinese dragon and the Mexican elephant-god are thus linked with the Nâga, who is identified both with Indra himself and Indra's enemy Vritra. This is another instance of those remarkable contradictions that one meets at every step in pursuing the dragon. In the confusion resulting from the blending of hostile tribes and diverse cultures the Aryan deity who, both for religious and political reasons, is the enemy of the Nâgas becomes himself identified with a Nâga!

I have already called attention (*Nature*, Jan. 27, 1916) to the fact that the graphic form of representation of the American elephant-headed god was derived from Indonesian pictures of the *makara*. In India itself the *makara* (see Fig. 11) is represented in a great variety of forms, most of which are prototypes of different kinds of dragons. Hence the homology of the elephant-headed god with the other dragons is further established and shown to be genetically related to the evolution of the protean manifestations of the dragon's form.

The dragon in China is "the heavenly giver of fertilizing rain" (*op. cit.*, p. 36). In the *Shu King* "the emblematic figures of the ancients are given as the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain, the *dragon*, and the variegated animals (pheasants) which are depicted on the upper sacrificial garment of the Emperor" (p. 39). In the *Li Ki* the unicorn, the phœnix, the tortoise, and the dragon are called the four *ling* (p. 39), which de Visser translates "spiritual beings," creatures with enormously strong vital spirit. The dragon possesses the most *ling* of all creatures (p. 64). The tiger is the deadly enemy of the dragon (p. 42).

The dragon sheds a brilliant light at night (p. 44), usually from his glittering eyes. He is the giver of omens (p. 45), good and bad,

[1] G. E. Gerini, "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia," *Asiatic Society's Monographs*, No. 1, 1909, p. 146.

rains and floods. The dragon-horse is a vital spirit of Heaven and Earth (p. 58) and also of river water: it has the tail of a huge serpent.

The ecclesiastical vestments of the Wu-ist priests are endowed with magical properties which are considered to enable the wearer to control the order of the world, to avert unseasonable and calamitous events, such as drought, untimely and superabundant rainfall, and eclipses. These powers are conferred by the decoration upon the dress. Upon the back of the chief vestment the representation of a range of mountains is embroidered as a symbol of the world: on each side (the right and left) of it a large dragon arises above the billows to represent the fertilizing rain. They are surrounded by gold-thread figures representing clouds and spirals typifying rolling thunder.[1]

A ball, sometimes with a spiral decoration, is commonly represented in front of the Chinese dragon. The Chinese writer Koh Hung tells us that "a spiral denotes the rolling of thunder from which issues a flash of lightning".[2] De Visser discusses this question at some length and refers to Hirth's claim that the Chinese triquetrum, i.e., the well-known three-comma shaped figure, the Japanese *mitsu-tomoe*, the ancient spiral, represents thunder also.[3] Before discussing this question, which involves the consideration of the almost world-wide belief in a thunder-weapon and its relationship to the spiral ornament, the octopus,

[1] De Visser, p. 102, and de Groot, vi., p. 1265, Plate XVIII. The reference to "a range of mountains . . . as a symbol of the world" recalls the Egyptian representation of the eastern horizon as two hills between which Hathor or her son arises (see Budge, "Gods of the Egyptians," vol. ii., p. 101; and compare Griffith's "Hieroglyphs," p. 30): the same conception was adopted in Mesopotamia (see Ward, "Seal Cylinders of Western Asia," fig. 412, p. 156) and in the Mediterranean (see Evans, "Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult," pp. 37 *et seq.*). It is a remarkable fact that Sir Arthur Evans, who, upon p. 64 of his memoir, reproduces two drawings of the Egyptian "horizon" supporting the sun's disk, should have failed to recognize in it the prototype of what he calls "the horns of consecration". Even if the confusion of the "horizon" with a cow's horns was very ancient (for the horns of the Divine Cow supporting the moon made this inevitable), this rationalization should not blind us as to the real origin of the idea, which is preserved in the ancient Egyptian, Babylonian, Cretan and Chinese pictures (see Fig. 26, facing p. 188).

[2] De Visser, p. 103.

[3] P. 104, The Chinese triquetrum has a circle in the centre and five or eight commas.

the pearl, the swastika and triskele, let us examine further the problem of the dragon's ball (see Fig. 12).

De Groot regards the dragon as a thunder-god and therefore, like Hirth, assumes that the supposed thunder-ball is being *belched forth* and not being *swallowed* by the dragon. But de Visser, as the result of a conversation with Mr. Kramp and the study of a Chinese picture in Blacker's "Chats on Oriental China" (1908, p. 54), puts forward the suggestion that the ball is the moon or the pearl-moon which the dragon is swallowing, thereby causing the fertilizing rain. The Chinese themselves refer to the ball as the "precious pearl," which, under the influence of Buddhism in China, was identified with "the pearl that grants all desires" and is under the special protection of the Nâga, i.e., the dragon. Arising out of this de Visser puts the conundrum: "Was the ball originally also a pearl, not of Buddhism but of Taoism?"

In reply to this question I may call attention to the fact that the germs of civilization were first planted in China by people strongly imbued with the belief that the pearl was the quintessence of life-giving and prosperity-conferring powers:[1] it was not only identified with the moon, but also was itself a particle of moon-substance which fell as dew into the gaping oyster. It was the very people who held such views about pearls and gold who, when searching for alluvial gold and fresh-water pearls in Turkestan, were responsible for transferring these same life-giving properties to jade; and the magical value thus attached to jade was the nucleus, so to speak, around which the earliest civilization of China was crystallized.

As we shall see, in the discussion of the thunder-weapon (p. 362), the luminous pearl, which was believed to have fallen from the sky, was homologized with the thunderbolt, with the functions of which its own magical properties were assimilated.

Kramp called de Visser's attention to the fact that the Chinese hieroglyphic character for the dragon's ball is compounded of the signs for *jewel* and *moon*, which is also given in a Japanese lexicon as *divine pearl*, the pearl of the bright moon.

"When the clouds approached and covered the moon, the ancient

[1] See on this my paper "The Origin of Early Siberian Civilization," now being published in the *Memoirs and Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*.

Fig. 12.—Photograph of a Chinese Embroidery in the Manchester School of Art representing the Dragon and the Pearl-Moon Symbol.

Chinese may have thought that the dragons had seized and swallowed this pearl, more brilliant than all the pearls of the sea" (de Visser, p. 108).

The difficulty de Visser finds in regarding his own theory as wholly satisfactory is, first, the red colour of the ball, and secondly, the spiral pattern upon it. He explains the colour as possibly an attempt to represent the pearl's lustre. But de Visser seems to have overlooked the fact that red and rose-coloured pearls obtained from the conch-shell were used in China and Japan.[1]

"The spiral is much used in delineating the sacred pearls of Buddhism, so that it might have served also to design those of Taoism; although I must acknowledge that the spiral of the Buddhist pearl goes upward, while the spiral of the dragon is flat" (p. 103).

De Visser sums up the whole argument in these words :—

"These are, however, all mere suppositions. The only facts we know are: the eager attitude of the dragons, ready to grasp and swallow the ball; the ideas of the Chinese themselves as to the ball being the moon or a pearl; the existence of a kind of sacred "moon-pearl"; the red colour of the ball, its emitting flames and its spiral-like form. As the three last facts are in favour of the thunder theory, I should be inclined to prefer the latter. Yet I am convinced that the dragons do not *belch out* the thunder. If their trying to *grasp* or *swallow* the thunder could be explained, I should immediately accept the theory concerning the thunder-spiral, especially on account of the flames it emits. But I do not see the reason why the god of thunder should persecute thunder itself. Therefore, after having given the above facts that the reader may take them into consideration, I feel obliged to say: 'non liquet'" (p. 108).

It does not seem to have occurred to the distinguished Dutch scholar, who has so lucidly put the issue before us, that his demonstration of the fact of the ball being the pearl-moon about to be swallowed by the dragon does not preclude it being also confused with the thunder. Elsewhere in this volume I have referred to the origin of the spiral symbolism and have shown that it became associated with the pearl *before* it became the symbol of thunder. The pearl-association in fact was

[1] Wilfrid Jackson, "Shells as Evidence of the Migrations of Early Culture," p. 106.

one of the links in the chain of events which made the pearl and the spirally-coiled arm of the octopus the sign of thunder.[1]

It seems quite clear to me that de Visser's pearl-moon theory is the true interpretation. But when the pearl-ball was provided with the spiral, painted red, and given flames to represent its power of emitting light and shining by night, the fact of the spiral ornamentation and of the pearl being one of the surrogates of the thunder-weapon was rationalized into an identification of the ball with thunder and the light it was emitting as lightning. It is, of course, quite irrational for a thunder-god to swallow his own thunder : but popular interpretations of subtle symbolism, the true explanation of which is deeply buried in the history of the distant past, are rarely logical and almost invariably irrelevant.

In his account of the state of Brahmanism in India after the times of the two earlier Vedas, Professor Hopkins[2] throws light upon the real significance of the ball in the dragon-symbolism. "Old legends are varied. The victory over Vritra is now expounded thus : Indra, who slays Vritra, is the sun. Vritra is the moon, who swims into the sun's mouth on the night of the new moon. The sun rises after swallowing him, and the moon is invisible because he is swallowed. The sun vomits out the moon, and the latter is then seen in the west, and increases again, to serve the sun as food. In another passage it is said that when the moon is invisible he is hiding in plants and waters."

This seems to clear away any doubt as to the significance of the ball. It is the pearl-moon, which is both swallowed and vomited by the dragon.

The snake takes a more obtrusive part in the Japanese than in the Chinese dragon and it frequently manifests itself as a god of the sea. The old Japanese sea-gods were often female water-snakes. The cultural influences which reached Japan from the south by way of Indonesia—many centuries before the coming of Buddhism—naturally emphasized the serpent form of the dragon and its connexion with the ocean.

But the river-gods, or "water-fathers," were real four-footed dragons identified with the dragon-kings of Chinese myth, but at the

[1] I shall discuss this more fully in "The Birth of Aphrodite".
[2] "Religions of India," p. 197.

same time were strictly homologous with the Nâga Rajas or cobra-kings of India.

The Japanese "Sea Lord" or "Sea Snake" was also called "Abundant-Pearl-Prince," who had a magnificent palace at the bottom of the sea. His daughter ("Abundant-Pearl-Princess") married a youth whom she observed, reflected in the well, sitting on a cassia tree near the castle gate. Ashamed at his presence at her lying-in she was changed into a *wani* or crocodile (de Visser, p. 139), elsewhere described as a dragon (*makara*). De Visser gives it as his opinion that the *wani* is "an old Japanese dragon, or serpent-shaped sea-god, and the legend is an ancient Japanese tale, dressed in an Indian garb by later generations" (p. 140). He is arguing that the Japanese dragon existed long before Japan came under Indian influence. But he ignores the fact that at a very early date both India and China were diversely influenced by Babylonia, the great breeding place of dragons; and, secondly, that Japan was influenced by Indonesia, and through it by the West, for many centuries before the arrival of such later Indian legends as those relating to the palace under the sea, the castle gate and the cassia tree. As Aston (quoted by de Visser) remarks, all these incidents and also the well that serves as a mirror, "form a combination not unknown to European folklore".

After de Visser had given his own views, he modified them (on p. 141) when he learned that essentially the same dragon-stories had been recorded in the Kei Islands and Minahassa (Celebes). In the light of this new information he frankly admits that "the resemblance of several features of this myth with the Japanese one is so striking, that we may be sure that the latter is of Indonesian origin." He goes further when he recognizes that "probably the foreign invaders, who in prehistoric times conquered Japan, came from Indonesia, and brought the myth with them" (p. 141). The evidence recently brought together by W. J. Perry in his book "The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia" makes it certain that the people of Indonesia in turn got it from the West.

An old painting reproduced by F. W. K. Müller,[1] who called de Visser's attention to these interesting stories, shows Hohodemi (the

[1] "Mythe der Kei-Insulaner und Verwandtes," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, vol. xxv., 1893, pp. 533 *et seq.*

youth on the cassia tree who married the princess) returning home mounted on the back of a crocodile, like the Indian Varuna upon the *makara* in a drawing reproduced by the late Sir George Birdwood.[1]

The *wani* or crocodile thus introduced from India, *via* Indonesia, is really the Chinese and Japanese dragon, as Aston has claimed. Aston refers to Japanese pictures in which the Abundant-Pearl-Prince and his daughter are represented with dragon's heads appearing over their human ones, but in the old Indonesian version they maintain their forms as *wani* or crocodiles.

The dragon's head appearing over a human one is quite an Indian motive, transferred to China and from there to Korea and Japan (de Visser, p. 142), and, I may add, also to America.

[Since the foregoing paragraphs have been printed, the Curator of the Liverpool Museum has kindly called my attention to a remarkable series of Maya remains in the collection under his care, which were obtained in the course of excavations made by Mr. T. W. F. Gann, M.R.C.S., an officer in the Medical Service of British Honduras (see his account of the excavations in Part II. of the 19th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution of Washington). Among them is a pottery figure of a *wani* or *makara* in the form of an alligator, equipped with diminutive deer's horns (like the dragon of Eastern Asia); and its skin is studded with circular elevations, presumably meant to represent the spots upon the star-spangled "Celestial Stag" of the Aryans (p. 130). As in the Japanese pictures mentioned by Aston, a human head is seen emerging from the creature's throat. It affords a most definite and convincing demonstration of the sources of American culture.]

The jewels of flood and ebb in the Japanese legends consist of the pearls of flood and ebb obtained from the dragon's palace at the bottom of the sea. By their aid storms and floods could be created to destroy enemies or calm to secure safety for friends. Such stories are the logical result of the identification of pearls with the moon, the influence of which upon the tides was probably one of the circumstances which was responsible for bringing the moon into the circle of the great scientific theory of the life-giving powers of water. This in turn played a great, if not decisive, part in originating the earliest belief in a sky world, or heaven.

[1] See Fig. 11.

The Evolution of the Dragon.

The American and Indonesian dragons can be referred back primarily to India, the Chinese and Japanese varieties to India and Babylonia. The dragons of Europe can be traced through Greek channels to the same ultimate source. But the cruder dragons of Africa are derived either from Egypt, from the Ægean, or from India. All dragons that strictly conform to the conventional idea of what such a wonder-beast should be can be shown to be sprung from the fertile imagination of ancient Sumer, the "great breeding place of monsters" (Minns).

But the history of the dragon's evolution and transmission to other countries is full of complexities; and the dragon-myth is made up of many episodes, some of which were not derived from Babylonia.

In Egypt we do not find the characteristic dragon and dragon-story. Yet all of the ingredients out of which both the monster and the legends are compounded have been preserved in Egypt, and in perhaps a more primitive and less altered form than elsewhere. Hence, if Egypt does not provide dragons for us to dissect, it does supply us with the evidence without which the dragon's evolution would be quite unintelligible.

Egyptian literature affords a clearer insight into the development of the Great Mother, the Water God, and the Warrior Sun God than we can obtain from any other writings of the origin of this fundamental stratum of deities. And in the three legends: The Destruction of Mankind, The Story of the Winged Disk, and The Conflict between Horus and Set, it has preserved the germs of the great Dragon Saga. Babylonian literature has shown us how this raw material was worked up into the definite and familiar story, as well as how the features of a variety of animals were blended to form the composite monster. India and Greece, as well as more distant parts of Africa, Europe, and Asia, and even America have preserved many details that have been lost in the real home of the monster.

In the earliest literature that has come down to us from antiquity a clear account is given of the original attributes of Osiris. "Horus comes, he recognizes his father in thee [Osiris], youthful in thy name of 'Fresh Water'." "Thou art indeed the Nile, great on the fields at the beginning of the seasons; gods and men live by the moisture that is

in thee." He is also identified with the inundation of the river. "It is Unis [the dead king identified with Osiris] who inundates the land." He also brings the wind and guides it. It is the breath of life which raises the king from the dead as an Osiris. The wine-press god comes to Osiris bearing wine-juice and the great god becomes "Lord of the overflowing wine": he is also identified with barley and with the beer made from it. Certain trees also are personifications of the god.

But Osiris was regarded not only as the waters upon earth, the rivers and streams, the moisture in the soil and in the bodies of animals and plants, but also as "the waters of life that are in the sky".

"As Osiris was identified with the waters of earth and sky, he may even become the sea and the ocean itself. We find him addressed thus: 'Thou art great, thou art green, in thy name of Great Green (Sea); lo, thou art round as the Great Circle (Okeanos); lo, thou art turned about, thou art round as the circle that encircles the Haunebu (Ægeans)."

This series of interesting extracts from Professor Breasted's "Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt" (pp. 18-26) gives the earliest Egyptians' own ideas of the attributes of Osiris. The Babylonians regarded Ea in almost precisely the same light and endowed him with identical powers. But there is an important and significant difference between Osiris and Ea. The former was usually represented as a man, that is, as a dead king, whereas Ea was represented as a man wearing a fish-skin, as a fish, or as the composite monster with a fish's body and tail, which was the prototype of the Indian *makara* and "the father of dragons".

In attempting to understand the creation of the dragon it is important to remember that, although Osiris and Ea were regarded primarily as personifications of the beneficent life-giving powers of water, as the bringers of fertility to the soil and the givers of life and immortality to living creatures, they were also identified with the destructive forces of water, by which men were drowned or their welfare affected in various ways by storms of sea and wind.

Thus Osiris or the fish-god Ea could destroy mankind. In other words the fish-dragon, or the composite monster formed of a fish and an antelope, could represent the destructive forces of wind and water. Thus even the malignant dragon can be the homologue of the usually

beneficent gods Osiris and Ea, and their Aryan surrogates Mazdah and Varuna.

By a somewhat analogous process of archaic rationalization the sons respectively of Osiris and Ea, the sun-gods Horus and Marduk, acquired a similarly confused reputation. Although their outstanding achievements were the overcoming of the powers of evil, and, as the givers of light, conquering darkness, their character as warriors made them also powers of destruction. The falcon of Horus thus became also a symbol of chaos, and as the thunder-bird became the most obtrusive feature in the weird anatomy of the composite Mesopotamian dragon and his more modern bird-footed brood, which ranges from Western Europe to the Far East of Asia and America.

That the sun-god derived his functions directly or indirectly from Osiris and Hathor is shown by his most primitive attributes, for in "the earliest sun-temples at Abusir, he appears as the source of life and increase". "Men said of him: 'Thou hast driven away the storm, and hast expelled the rain, and hast broken up the clouds'." [1] Horus was in fact the son of Osiris and Hathor, from whom he derived his attributes. The invention of the sun-god was not, as most scholars pretend, an attempt to give direct expression to the fact that the sun is the source of fertility. That is a discovery of modern science. The sun-god acquired his attributes secondarily (and for definite historical reasons) from his parents, who were responsible for his birth.

The quotation from the Pyramid Texts is of special interest as an illustration of one of the results of the assimilation of the idea of Osiris as the controller of water with that of a sky-heaven and a sun-god. The sun-god's powers are rationalized so as to bring them into conformity with the earliest conception of a god as a power controlling water.

Breasted attempts to interpret the statements concerning the storm and rain-clouds as references to the enemies of the sun, who steal the sky-god's eye, i.e., obscure the sun or moon. The incident of Horus's loss of an eye, which looms so large in Egyptian legends, is possibly more closely related to the earliest attempts at explaining eclipses of the sun and moon, the "eyes" of the sky. The obscuring of the sun and moon by clouds is a matter of little significance to the Egyptian: but the modern Egyptian *fellah*, and no doubt his predecessors also,

[1] Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

regard eclipses with much concern. Such events excite great alarm, for the peasants consider them as actual combats between the powers of good and evil.

In other countries where rain is a blessing and not, as in Egypt, merely an unwelcome inconvenience, the clouds play a much more prominent part in the popular beliefs. In the Rig-Veda the power that holds up the clouds is evil: as an elaboration of the ancient Egyptian conception of the sky as a Divine Cow, the Great Mother, the Aryan Indians regarded the clouds as a herd of cattle which the Vedic warrior-god Indra (who in this respect is the homologue of the Egyptian warrior Horus) stole from the powers of evil and bestowed upon mankind. In other words, like Horus, he broke up the clouds and brought rain.

The antithesis between the two aspects of the character of these ancient deities is most pronounced in the case of the other member of this most primitive Trinity, the Great Mother. She was the great beneficent giver of life, but also the controller of life, which implies that she was the death-dealer. But this evil aspect of her character developed only under the stress of a peculiar dilemma in which she was placed. On a famous occasion in the very remote past the great Giver of Life was summoned to rejuvenate the ageing king. The only elixir of life that was known to the pharmacopœia of the times was human blood: but to obtain this life-blood the Giver of Life was compelled to slaughter mankind. She thus became the destroyer of mankind in her lioness *avatar* as Sekhet.

The earliest known pictorial representation of the dragon (Fig. 1) consists of the forepart of the sun-god's falcon or eagle united with the hindpart of the mother-goddess's lioness. The student of modern heraldry would not regard this as a dragon at all, but merely a gryphon or griffin. A recent writer on heraldry has complained that, "in spite of frequent corrections, this creature is persistently confused in the popular mind with the *dragon*, which is even more purely imaginary".[1] But the investigator of the early history of these wonder-beasts is compelled, even at the risk of incurring the herald's censure, to regard the gryphon as one of the earliest known tentative efforts at dragon-making. But though the fish, the falcon or eagle, and the composite eagle-lion

[1] G. W. Eve, "Decorative Heraldry," 1897, p. 35.

monster are early known pictorial representations of the dragon, good or bad, the serpent is probably more ancient still (Fig. 2).

The earliest form assumed by the power of evil was the serpent: but it is important to remember that, as each of the primary deities can be a power of either good or evil, any of the animals representing them can symbolize either aspect. Though Hathor in her cow manifestation is usually benevolent and as a lioness a power of destruction, the cow may become a demon in certain cases and the lioness a kindly creature. The falcon of Horus (or its representatives, eagle, hawk, woodpecker, dove, redbreast, etc.) may be either good or bad: so also the gazelle (antelope or deer), the crocodile, the fish, or any of the menagerie of creatures that enter into the composition of good or bad demons.

"The Nâgas are semi-divine serpents which very often assume human shapes and whose kings live with their retinues in the utmost luxury in their magnificent abodes at the bottom of the sea or in rivers or lakes. When leaving the Nâga world they are in constant danger of being grasped and killed by the gigantic semi-divine birds, the Garudas, which also change themselves into men" (de Visser, p. 7).

"The Nâgas are depicted in three forms: common snakes, guarding jewels; human beings with four snakes in their necks; and winged sea-dragons, the upper part of the body human, but with a horned, ox-like head, the lower part of the body that of a coiling-dragon. Here we find a link between the snake of ancient India and the four-legged Chinese dragon" (p. 6), hidden in the clouds, which the dragon himself emitted, like a modern battleship, for the purpose of rendering himself invisible. In other words, the rain clouds were the dragon's breath. The fertilizing rain was thus in fact the vital essence of the dragon, being both water and the breath of life.

"We find the Nâga king not only in the possession of numberless jewels and beautiful girls, but also of mighty charms, bestowing supernatural vision and hearing. The palaces of the Nâga kings are always described as extremely splendid, abounding with gold and silver and precious stones, and the Nâga women, when appearing in human shape, were beautiful beyond description" (p. 9).

De Visser records the story of an evil Nâga protecting a big tree that grew in a pond, who failed to emit clouds and thunder when the tree was cut down, because he was neither despised nor wounded: for

his body became the support of the stūpa and the tree became a beam of the stūpa (p. 16). This aspect of the Nâga as a tree-demon is rare in India, but common in China and Japan. It seems to be identical with the Mediterranean conception of the pillar of wood or stone, which is both a representative of the Great Mother and the chief support of a temple.[1]

In the magnificent city that king Yaçaḥketu saw, when he dived into the sea, "wishing trees that granted every desire" were among the objects that met his vision. There were also palaces of precious stones and gardens and tanks, and, of course, beautiful maidens (de Visser, p. 20).

In the Far Eastern stories it is interesting to note the antagonism of the dragon to the tiger, when we recall that the lioness-form of Hathor was the prototype of the earliest malevolent dragon.

There are five sorts of dragons: serpent-dragons; lizard-dragons; fish-dragons; elephant-dragons; and toad-dragons (de Visser, p. 23).

"According to de Groot, the blue colour is chosen in China because this is the colour of the East, from where the rain must come; this quarter is represented by the Azure Dragon, the highest in rank among all the dragons. We have seen, however, that the original sūtra already prescribed to use the blue colour and to face the East. . . . Indra, the rain-god, is the patron of the East, and Indra-colour is *nila*, dark blue or rather blue-black, the regular epithet of the rain clouds. If the priest had not to face the East but the West, this would agree with the fact that the Nâgas were said to live in the western quarter and that in India the West corresponds with the blue colour. Facing the East, however, seems to point to an old rain ceremony in which Indra was invoked to raise the blue-black clouds" (de Visser, pp. 30 and 31).

The Dragon Myth.

The most important and fundamental legend in the whole history of mythology is the story of the "Destruction of Mankind". "It was discovered, translated, and commented upon by Naville ("La Destruction des hommes par les Dieux," in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv., pp. 1-19, reproducing Hay's copies made at the beginning of [the nineteenth] century; and

[1] Arthur J. Evans, "Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult," pp. 88 *et seq.*

"L'Inscription de la Destruction des hommes dans le tombeau de Ramsès III," in the *Transactions*, vol. viii., pp. 412-20); afterwards published anew by Herr von Bergmann (*Hieroglyphische Inscriften*, pls. lxxv.-lxxxii., and pp. 55, 56); completely translated by Brugsch (*Die neue Weltordnung nach Vernichtung des sündigen Menschengeschlechts nach einer Altägyptischen Ueberlieferung*, 1881); and partly translated by Lauth (*Aus Ægyptens Vorzeit*, pp. 70-81) and by Lefèbure ("Une chapitre de la chronique solaire," in the *Zeitschrift für Ægyptische Sprache*, 1883, pp. 32, 33)".[1]

Important commentaries upon this story have been published also by Brugsch and Gauthier.[2]

As the really important features of the story consist of the incoherent and contradictory details, and it would take up too much space to reproduce the whole legend here, I must refer the reader to Maspero's account of it (*op. cit.*), or to the versions given by Erman in his "Life in Ancient Egypt" (p. 267, from which I quote) or Budge in "The Gods of the Egyptians," vol. i., p. 388.

Although the story as we know it was not written down until the time of Seti I (*circa* 1300 B.C.), it is very old and had been circulating as a popular legend for more than twenty centuries before that time. The narrative itself tells its own story because it is composed of many contradictory interpretations of the same incidents flung together in a highly confused and incoherent form.

The other legends to which I shall have constantly to refer are "The Saga of the Winged Disk," "The Feud between Horus and Set," "The Stealing of Re's Name by Isis," and a series of later variants and confusions of these stories.[3]

[1] G. Maspero, "The Dawn of Civilization," p. 164.

[2] H. Brugsch, "Die Alraune als altägyptische Zauberpflanze," *Zeit. f. Ægypt. Sprache*, Bd. 29, 1891, pp. 31-3; and Henri Gauthier, "Le nom hiéroglyphique de l'argile rouge d'Éléphantine," *Revue Égyptologique*, t. xi^e, Nos. i.-ii., 1904, p. 1.

[3] These legends will be found in the works by Maspero, Erman and Budge, to which I have already referred. A very useful digest will be found in Donald A. Mackenzie's "Egyptian Myth and Legend". Mr. Mackenzie does not claim to have any first-hand knowledge of the subject, but his exceptionally wide and intimate knowledge of Scottish folk-lore, which has preserved a surprisingly large part of the same legends, has enabled him to present the Egyptian stories with exceptional clearness and

The Egyptian legends cannot be fully appreciated unless they are studied in conjunction with those of Babylonia and Assyria,[1] the mythology of Greece,[2] Persia,[3] India,[4] China,[5] Indonesia,[6] and America.[7]

For it will be found that essentially the same stream of legends was flowing in all these countries, and that the scribes and painters have caught and preserved certain definite phases of this verbal currency. The legends which have thus been preserved are not to be regarded as having been directly derived the one from the other but as collateral phases of a variety of waves of story spreading out from one centre. Thus the comparison of the whole range of homologous legends is peculiarly instructive and useful; because the gaps in the Egyptian series, for example, can be filled in by necessary phases which are missing in Egypt itself, but are preserved in Babylonia or Greece, Persia or India, China or Britain, or even Oceania and America.

The incidents in the Destruction of Mankind may be briefly summarized:—

As Re grows old "the men who were begotten of his eye"[8] show signs of rebellion. Re calls a council of the gods and they advise him

sympathetic insight. But I refer to his book specially because he is one of the few modern writers who has made the attempt to compare the legends of Egypt, Babylonia, Crete, India and Western Europe. Hence the reader who is not familiar with the mythology of these countries will find his books particularly useful as works of reference in following the story I have to unfold: "Teutonic Myth and Legend," "Egyptian Myth and Legend," "Indian Myth and Legend," "Myths of Babylonia and Assyria" and "Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe".

[1] See Leonard W. King, "Babylonian Religion," 1899.

[2] For a useful collection of data see A. B. Cook, "Zeus".

[3] Albert J. Carnoy, "Iranian Views of Origins in connexion with Similar Babylonian Beliefs," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxxvi., 1916, pp. 300-20; and "The Moral Deities of Iran and India and their Origins," *The American Journal of Theology*, vol. xxi., No. i., January, 1917.

[4] Hopkins, "Religions of India".

[5] De Groot, "The Religious System of China".

[6] Perry, "The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia," Manchester, 1918.

[7] H. Beuchat, "Manuel d' Archéologie Américaine," Paris, 1912; T. A. Joyce, "Mexican Archæology," and especially the memoir by Seler on the "Codex Vaticanus" and his articles in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* and elsewhere.

[8] I.e. the offspring of the Great Mother of gods and men, Hathor, the "Eye of Re".

to "shoot forth his Eye[1] that it may slay the evil conspirators. . . . Let the goddess Hathor descend [from heaven] and slay the men on the mountains [to which they had fled in fear]." As the goddess complied she remarked: "it will be good for me when I subject mankind," and Re replied, "I shall subject them and slay them". Hence the goddess received the additional name of *Sekhmet* from the word "to subject". The destructive Sekhmet[2] *avatar* of Hathor is represented as a fierce lion-headed goddess of war wading in blood. For the goddess set to work slaughtering mankind and the land was flooded with blood.[3] Re became alarmed and determined to save at least some remnant of mankind. For this purpose he sent messengers to Elephantine to obtain a substance called *d'd'* in the Egyptian text, which he gave to the god Sektet of Heliopolis to grind up in a mortar. When the slaves had crushed barley to make beer the powdered *d'd'* was mixed with it so as to make it red like human blood. Enough of this blood-coloured beer was made to fill 7000 jars. At nighttime this was poured out upon the fields, so that when the goddess came to resume her task of destruction in the morning she found the fields inundated and her face was mirrored in the fluid. She drank of the fluid and became intoxicated so that she no longer recognized mankind.[4]

Thus Re saved a remnant of mankind from the bloodthirsty, terrible Hathor. But the god was weary of life on earth and withdrew to heaven upon the back of the Divine Cow.

There can be no doubt as to the meaning of this legend, highly confused as it is. The king who was responsible for introducing irriga-

[1] That is, Hathor, who as the moon is the "Eye of Re".

[2] Elsewhere in these pages I have used the more generally adopted spelling "*Sekhet*".

[3] Mr. F. Ll. Griffith tells me that the translation "flooding the land" is erroneous and misleading. Comparison of the whole series of stories, however, suggests that the amount of blood shed rapidly increased in the development of the narrative: at first the blood of a single victim; then the blood of mankind; then 7000 jars of a substitute for blood; then the red inundation of the Nile.

[4] This verson I have quoted mainly from Erman, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-9, but with certain alterations which I shall mention later. In another version of the legend wine replaces the beer and is made out of "the blood of those who formerly fought against the gods," *cf.* Plutarch, De Iside (ed. Parthey) 6.

tion came to be himself identified with the life-giving power of water. He was the river: his own vitality was the source of all fertility and prosperity. Hence when he showed signs that his vital powers were failing it became a logical necessity that he should be killed to safeguard the welfare of his country and people.[1]

The time came when a king, rich in power and the enjoyment of life, refused to comply with this custom. When he realized that his virility was failing he consulted the Great Mother, as the source and giver of life, to obtain an elixir which would rejuvenate him and obviate the necessity of being killed. The only medicine in the pharmacopœia of those times that was believed to be useful in minimizing danger to life was human blood. Wounds that gave rise to severe hæmorrhage were known to produce unconsciousness and death. If the escape of

[1] It is still the custom in many places, and among them especially the regions near the headwaters of the Nile itself, to regard the king or rain-maker as the impersonation of the life-giving properties of water and the source of all fertility. When his own vitality shows signs of failing he is killed, so as not to endanger the fruitfulness of the community by allowing one who is weak in life-giving powers to control its destinies. Much of the evidence relating to these matters has been collected by Sir James Frazer in "The Dying God," 1911, who quotes from Dr. Seligman the following account of the Dinka "Osiris":

"While the mighty spirit Lerpiu is supposed to be embodied in the rain-maker, it is also thought to inhabit a certain hut which serves as a shrine. In front of the hut stands a post to which are fastened the horns of many bullocks that have been sacrificed to Lerpiu; and in the hut is kept a very sacred spear which bears the name of Lerpiu and is said to have fallen from heaven six generations ago. As fallen stars are also called Lerpiu, we may suspect that an intimate connexion is supposed to exist between meteorites and the spirit which animates the rain-maker" (Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 32). Here then we have a house of the dead inhabited by Lerpiu, who can also enter the body of the rain-maker and animate him, as well as the ancient spear and the falling stars, which are also animate forms of the same god, who obviously is the homologue of Osiris, and is identified with the spear and the falling stars.

In spring when the April moon is a few days old bullocks are sacrificed to Lerpiu. "Two bullocks are led twice round the shrine and afterwards tied by the rain-maker to the post in front of it. Then the drums beat and the people, old and young, men and women, dance round the shrine and sing, while the beasts are being sacrificed, 'Lerpiu, our ancestor, we have brought you a sacrifice. Be pleased to cause rain to fall.' The blood of the bullocks is collected in a gourd, boiled in a pot on the fire, and eaten by the old and important people of the clan. The horns of the animals are attached to the post in front of the shrine" (pp. 32 and 33).

the blood of life could produce these results it was not altogether illogical to assume that the exhibition of human blood could also add to the vitality of living men and so "turn back the years from their old age," as the Pyramid Texts express it.

Thus the Great Mother, the giver of life to all mankind, was faced with the dilemma that, to provide the king with the elixir to restore his youth, she had to slay mankind, to take the life she herself had given to her own children. Thus she acquired an evil reputation which was to stick to her throughout her career. She was not only the beneficent creator of all things and the bestower of all blessings : but she was also a demon of destruction who did not hesitate to slaughter even her own children.

In course of time the practice of human sacrifice was abandoned and substitutes were adopted in place of the blood of mankind. Either the blood of cattle,[1] who by means of appropriate ceremonies could be transformed into human beings (for the Great Mother herself was the Divine Cow and her offspring cattle), was employed in its stead ; or red ochre was used to colour a liquid which was used ritually to replace the blood of sacrifice. When this phase of culture was reached the goddess provided for the king an elixir of life consisting of beer stained red by means of red ochre, so as to simulate human blood.

But such a mixture was doubly potent, for the barley from which the beer was made and the drink itself was supposed to be imbued with the life-giving powers of Osiris, and the blood-colour reinforced its therapeutic usefulness. The legend now begins to become involved and confused. For the goddess is making the rejuvenator for the king, who in the meantime has died and become deified as Osiris ; and the beer, which is the vehicle of the life-giving powers of Osiris, is now being used to rejuvenate his son and successor, the living king Horus, who in the version that has come down to us is replaced by the sun-god Re.

[1] In Northern Nigeria an official who bore the title of Killer of the Elephant throttled the king "as soon as he showed signs of failing health or growing infirmity". The king-elect was afterwards conducted to the centre of the town, called Head of the Elephant, where he was made to lie down on a bed. Then a black ox was slaughtered and its blood allowed to pour all over his body. Next the ox was flayed, and the remains of the dead king, which had been disembowelled and smoked for seven days over a slow fire, were wrapped up in the hide and dragged along to the place of burial, where they were interred in a circular pit" (Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 35).

It is Re who is king and is growing old : he asks Hathor, the Great Mother, to provide him with the elixir of life. But comparison with some of the legends of other countries suggests that Re has usurped the place previously occupied by Horus and originally by Osiris, who as the real personification of the life-giving power of water is obviously the appropriate person to be slain when his virility begins to fail. Dr. C. G. Seligman's account of the Dinka rain-maker Lerpiu, which I have already quoted (p. 113) from Sir James Frazer's "Dying God," suggests that the slain king or god was originally Osiris.

The introduction of Re into the story marks the beginning of the belief in the sky-world or heaven. Hathor was originally nothing more than an amulet to enhance fertility and vitality. Then she was personified as a woman and identified with a cow. But when the view developed that the moon controlled the powers of life-giving in women and exercised a direct influence upon their life-blood, the Great Mother was identified with the moon. But how was such a conception to be brought into harmony with the view that she was also a cow? The human mind displays an irresistible tendency to unify its experience and to bridge the gaps that necessarily exist in its broken series of scraps of knowledge and ideas. No break is too great to be bridged by this instinctive impulse to rationalize the products of diverse experience. Hence, early man, having identified the Great Mother both with a cow and the moon, had no compunction in making "the cow jump over the moon" to become the sky. The moon then became the "Eye" of the sky and the sun necessarily became its other "Eye". But, as the sun was clearly the more important "Eye," seeing that it determined the day and gave warmth and light for man's daily work, it was the more important deity. Therefore Re, at first the Brother-Eye of Hathor, and afterwards her husband, became the supreme sky-deity, and Hathor merely one of his Eyes.

When this stage of theological evolution was reached, the story of the "Destruction of Mankind" was re-edited, and Hathor was called the "Eye of Re". In the earlier versions she was called into consultation solely as the giver of life and, to obtain the life-blood, she cut men's throats with a knife.

But as the Eye of Re she was identified with the fire-spitting uræus-serpent which the king or god wore on his forehead. She was both the moon and the fiery bolt which shot down from the sky to slay

the enemies of Re. For the men who were originally slaughtered to provide the blood for an elixir now became the enemies of Re. The reason for this was that, human sacrifice having been abandoned and substitutes provided to replace the human blood, the story-teller was at a loss to know why the goddess killed mankind. A reason had to be found—and the rationalization adopted was that men had rebelled against the gods and had to be killed. This interpretation was probably the result of a confusion with the old legend of the fight between Horus and Set, the rulers of the two kingdoms of Egypt. The possibility also suggests itself that a pun made by some priestly jester may have been the real factor that led to this mingling of two originally separate stories. In the "Destruction of Mankind" the story runs, according to Budge,[1] that Re, referring to his enemies, said: *mā-ten set uār er set*, "Behold ye them (*set*) fleeing into the mountain (*set*)". The enemies were thus identified with the mountain or stone and with Set, the enemy of the gods.[2]

In Egyptian hieroglyphics the symbol for stone is used as the determinative for Set. When the "Eye of Re" destroyed mankind and the rebels were thus identified with the followers of Set, they were regarded as creatures of "stone". In other words the Medusa-eye petrified the enemies. From this feeble pun on the part of some ancient Egyptian scribe has arisen the world-wide stories of the influence of the "Evil Eye" and the petrification of the enemies of the gods.[3] As the name for Isis in Egyptian is "*Set*," it is possible that the confusion of the Power of Evil with the Great Mother may also have been facilitated by an extension of the same pun.

It is important to recognize that the legend of Hathor descending from the moon or the sky in the form of destroying fire had nothing whatever to do, in the first instance, with the phenomena of lightning

[1] "Gods of the Egyptians," vol. i., p. 392.

[2] The eye of the sun-god, which was subsequently called the eye of Horus and identified with the Uræus-snake on the forehead of Re and of the Pharaohs, the earthly representatives of Re, finally becoming synonymous with the crown of Lower Egypt, was a mighty goddess, Uto or Buto by name" (Alan Gardiner, Article "Magic (Egyptian)" in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, p. 268, quoting Sethe.

[3] For an account of the distribution of this story see E. Sidney Hartland, "The Legend of Perseus"; also W. J. Perry, "The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia".

and meteorites. It was the result of verbal quibbling after the destructive goddess came to be identified with the moon, the sky and the "Eye of Re". But once the evolution of the story on these lines prepared the way, it was inevitable that in later times the powers of destruction exerted by the fire from the sky should have been identified with the lightning and meteorites.

When the destructive force of the heavens was attributed to the "Eye of Re" and the god's enemies were identified with the followers of Set, it was natural that the traditional enemy of Set who was also the more potent other "Eye of Re" should assume his mother's rôle of punishing rebellious mankind. That Horus did in fact take the place at first occupied by Hathor in the story is revealed by the series of trivial episodes from the "Destruction of Mankind" that reappear in the "Saga of the Winged Disk". The king of Lower Egypt (Horus) was identified with a falcon, as Hathor was with the vulture (Mut): like her, he entered the sun-god's boat[1] and sailed up the river with him: he then mounted up to heaven as a winged disk, i.e. the sun of Re equipped with his own falcon's wings. The destructive force displayed by Hathor as the Eye of Re was symbolized by her identification with Tefnut, the fire-spitting uræus-snake. When Horus assumed the form of the winged disk he added to his insignia two fire-spitting serpents to destroy Re's enemies. The winged disk was at once the instrument of destruction and the god himself. It swooped (or flew) down from heaven like a bolt of destroying fire and killed the enemies of Re. By a confusion with Horus's other fight against the

[1] The original "boat of the sky" was the crescent moon, which, from its likeness to the earliest form of Nile boat, was regarded as the vessel in which the moon (seen as a faint object upon the crescent), or the goddess who was supposed to be personified in the moon, travelled across the waters of the heavens. But as this "boat" was obviously part of the moon itself, it also was regarded as an animate form of the goddess, the "Eye of Re". When the Sun, as the other "Eye," assumed the chief rôle, Re was supposed to traverse the heavens in his own "boat," which was also brought into relationship with the actual boat used in the Osirian burial ritual.

The custom of employing the name "dragon" in reference to a boat is found in places as far apart as Scandinavia and China. It is the direct outcome of these identifications of the sun and moon with a boat animated by the respective deities. In India the *Makara*, the prototype of the dragon, was sometimes represented as a boat which was looked upon as the fish-*avatar* of Vishnu, Buddha or some other deity.

followers of Set, the enemies of Re become identified with Set's army and they are transformed into crocodiles, hippopotami and all the other kinds of creatures whose shapes the enemies of Osiris assume.

In the course of the development of these legends a multitude of other factors played a part and gave rise to transformations of the meaning of the incidents.

The goddess originally slaughtered mankind, or perhaps it would be truer to say, made *a* human sacrifice, to obtain blood to rejuvenate the king. But, as we have seen already, when the sacrifice was no longer a necessary part of the programme, the incident of the slaughter was not dropped out of the story, but a new explanation of it was framed. Instead of simply making a human sacrifice, mankind as a whole was destroyed for rebelling against the gods, the act of rebellion being murmuring about the king's old age and loss of virility. The elixir soon became something more than a rejuvenator: it was transformed into the food of the gods, the ambrosia that gave them their immortality, and distinguished them from mere mortals. Now when the development of the story led to the replacement of the single victim by the whole of mankind, the blood produced by the wholesale slaughter was so abundant that the fields were flooded by the life-giving elixir. By the sacrifice of men the soil was renewed and refertilized. When the blood-coloured beer was substituted for the actual blood the conception was brought into still closer harmony with Egyptian ideas, because the beer was animated with the life-giving powers of Osiris. But Osiris was the Nile. The blood-coloured fertilizing fluid was then identified with the annual inundation of the red-coloured waters of the Nile. Now the Nile waters were supposed to come from the First Cataract at Elephantine. Hence by a familiar psychological process the previous phase of the legend was recast, and by confusion the red ochre (which was used to colour the beer red) was said to have come from Elephantine.[1]

[1] This is an instance of the well-known tendency of the human mind to blend numbers of different incidents into one story. An episode of one experience, having been transferred to an earlier one, becomes rationalized in adaptation to its different environment. This process of psychological transference is the explanation of the reference to Elephantine as the source of the *d'd'*, and has no relation to actuality. The naïve efforts of Brugsch and Gauthier to study the natural products of Elephantine for the purpose of identifying *d'd'* were therefore wholly misplaced.

Thus we have arrived at the stage where, by a distortion of a series of phases, the new incident emerges that by means of a human sacrifice the Nile flood can be produced. By a further confusion the goddess, who originally did the slaughter, becomes the victim. Hence the story assumed the form that by means of the sacrifice of a beautiful and attractive maiden the annual inundation can be produced. As the most potent symbol of life-giving it is essential that the victim should be sexually attractive, i.e. that she should be a virgin and the most beautiful and desirable in the land. When the practice of human sacrifice was abandoned a figure or an animal was substituted for the maiden in ritual practice, and in legends the hero rescued the maiden, as Andromeda was saved from the dragon.[1] The dragon is the personification of the monsters that dwell in the waters as well as the destructive forces of the flood itself. But the monsters were no other than the followers of Set ; they were the victims of the slaughter who became identified with the god's other traditional enemies, the followers of Set. Thus the monster from whom Andromeda is rescued is merely another representative of herself !

But the destructive forces of the flood now enter into the programme. In the phases we have so far discussed it was the slaughter of mankind which caused the inundation : but in the next phase it is the flood itself which causes the destruction, as in the later Egyptian and the borrowed Sumerian, Babylonian, Hebrew—and in fact the world-wide—versions. Re's boat becomes the ark ; the winged disk which was despatched by Re from the boat becomes the dove and the other birds sent out to spy the land, as the winged Horus spied the enemies of Re.

Thus the new weapon of the gods—we have already noted Hathor's knife and Horus's winged disk, which is the fire from heaven, the lightning and the thunderbolt—is the flood. Like the others it can be either a beneficent giver of life or a force of destruction.

But the flood also becomes a weapon of another kind. One of the earlier incidents of the story represents Hathor in opposition to Re. The goddess becomes so maddened with the zest of killing that the god becomes alarmed and asks her to desist and spare some representatives of the race. But she is deaf to entreaties. Hence the god is

[1] In Hartland's "Legend of Perseus" a collection of variants of this story will be found.

said to have sent to Elephantine for the red ochre to make a sedative draught to overcome her destructive zeal. We have already seen that this incident had an entirely different meaning—it was merely intended to explain the obtaining of the colouring matter wherewith to redden the sacred beer so as to make it resemble blood as an elixir for the god. It was brought from Elephantine, because the red waters of inundation of the Nile were supposed by the Egyptians to come from Elephantine.

But according to the story inscribed in Seti I^st's tomb, the red ochre was an essential ingredient of the sedative mixture (prepared under the direction of Re by the Sekti[1] of Heliopolis) to calm Hathor's murderous spirit.

It has been claimed that the story simply means that the goddess became intoxicated with beer and that she became genially inoffensive solely as the effect of such inebriation. But the incident in the Egyptian story closely resembles the legends of other countries in which some herb is used specifically as a sedative. In most books on Egyptian mythology the word (*d'd'*) for the substance put into the drink to colour it is translated "mandragora," from its resemblance to the Hebrew word *dudaim* in the Old Testament, which is often translated "mandrakes" or "love-apples". But Gauthier has clearly demonstrated that the Egyptian word does not refer to a vegetable but to a mineral substance, which he translates "red clay"[2]. Mr. F. Ll. Griffith tells me, however, that it is "red ochre". In any case, mandrake is not found at Elephantine (which, however, for the reasons I have already given, is a point of no importance so far as the identification of the substance is concerned), nor in fact anywhere in Egypt.

But if some foreign story of the action of a sedative drug had become blended with and incorporated in the highly complex and composite Egyptian legend the narrative would be more intelligible. The mandrake is such a sedative as might have been employed to calm the murderous frenzy of a maniacal woman. In fact it is closely allied to hyoscyamus, whose active principle, hyoscin, is used in modern medicine precisely for such purposes. I venture to suggest that a folk-tale describing the effect of opium or some other "drowsy syrup" has been absorbed into the legend of the Destruction of Mankind, and has provided the starting point of all those incidents in the dragon-story in which poison or some

[1] In the version I have quoted from Erman he refers to "the god Sektet".
[2] *Op. cit., supra.*

sleep-producing drug plays a part. For when Hathor defies Re and continues the destruction, she is playing the part of her Babylonian representative Tiamat, and is a dragon who has to be vanquished by the drink which the god provides.

The red earth which was pounded in the mortar to make the elixir of life and the fertilizer of the soil also came to be regarded as the material out of which the new race of men was made to replace those who were destroyed.

The god fashioned mankind of this earth and, instead of the red ochre being merely the material to give the blood-colour to the draught of immortality, the story became confused : actual blood was presented to the clay images to give them life and consciousness.

In a later elaboration the remains of the former race of mankind were ground up to provide the material out of which their successors were created. This version is a favourite story in Northern Europe, and has obviously been influenced by an intermediate variant which finds expression in the Indian legend of the Churning of the Ocean of Milk. Instead of the material for the elixir of the gods being pounded by the Sekti of Heliopolis and incidentally becoming a sedative for Hathor, it is the milk of the Divine Cow herself which is churned to provide the *amrita*.

The Thunder-Weapon.[1]

In the development of the dragon-story we have seen that the instruments of destruction were of a most varied kind. Each of the three primary deities, Hathor, Osiris and Horus can be a destructive power as well as a giver of life and of all kinds of boons. Every homologue or surrogate of these three deities can become a weapon for dragon-destroying, such as the moon or the lotus of Hathor, the water

[1] The history of the thunder-weapon cannot wholly be ignored in discussing the dragon-myth because it forms an integral part of the story. It was animated both by the dragon and the dragon-slayer. But an adequate account of the weapon would be so highly involved and complex as to be unintelligible without a very large series of illustrations. Hence I am referring here only to certain aspects of the subject. Pending the preparation of a monograph upon the thunder-weapon, I may refer the reader to the works of Blinkenberg, d'Alviella, Ward, Evans and A. B. Cook (to which frequent reference is made in these pages) for material, especially in the form of illustrations, to supplement my brief and unavoidably involved summary.

or the beer of Osiris, the sun or the falcon of Horus. Originally Hathor used a flint knife or axe : then she did the execution as "the Eye of Re," the moon, the fiery bolt from heaven : Osiris sent the destroying flood and the intoxicating beer, each of which, like the knife, axe and moon of Hathor, were animated by the deity. Then Horus came as the winged disk, the falcon, the sun, the lightning and the thunderbolt. As the dragon-story was spread abroad in the world any one of these "weapons" was confused with any of (or all) the rest. The Eye of Re was the fire-spitting uræus-serpent ; and foreign people, like the Greeks, Indians and others, gave the Egyptian verbal simile literal expression and converted it into an actual Cyclopean eye planted in the forehead, which shot out the destroying fire.

The warrior god of Babylonia is called the bright one,[1] the sword or lightning of Ishtar, who was herself called both the sword or lightning of heaven.

In the Ægean area also the sons of Zeus and the progeny of heaven may be axes, stone implements, meteoric stones and thunderbolts. In a Swahili tale the hero's weapon is "a sword like a flash of lightning".

According to Bergaigne,[2] the myth of the celestial drink *soma*, brought down from heaven by a bird ordinarily called *çyena*, "eagle," is parallel to that of Agni, the celestial fire brought by Mâtariçvan. This parallelism is even expressly stated in the Rig Veda, verse 6 of hymn 1 to Agni and Soma. Mâtariçvan brought the one from heaven, the eagle brought the other from the celestial mountain.

Kuhn admits that the eagle represents Indra ; and Lehmann regards the eagle who takes the fire as Agni himself. It is patent that both Indra and Agni are in fact merely specialized forms of Horus of the Winged Disk Saga, in one of which the warrior sun-god is represented, in the other the living fire. The elixir of life of the Egyptian story is represented by the *soma*, which by confusion is associated with the eagle : in other words, the god Soma is the homologue not only of Osiris, but also of Horus.

Other incidents in the same original version are confused in the Greek story of Prometheus. He stole the fire from heaven and brought

[1] As in Egypt Osiris is described as "a ray of light" which issued from the moon (Hathor), *i.e.* was born of the Great Mother.

[2] "Religion védique," i., p. 173, quoted by S. Reinach, "Ætos Prometheus," *Revue archéologique*, 4ie série, tome x., 1917, p. 72.

it to earth : but, in place of the episode of the elixir, which is adopted in the Indian story just mentioned, the creation of men from clay is accredited by the Greeks to the "flaming one," the "fire eagle" Prometheus.

The double axe was the homologue of the winged disk which fell, or rather flew, from heaven as the tangible form of the god. This fire from heaven inevitably came to be identified with the lightning. According to Blinkenberg (*op. cit.*, p. 19) "many points go to prove that the double-axe is a representation of the lightning (see Usener, p. 20)". He refers to the design on the famous gold ring from Mycenæ where "the sun, the moon, a double curved line presumably representing the rainbow, and the double-axe, i.e. the lightning" : but "the latter is placed lower than the others, probably because it descends from heaven to earth," like Horus when he assumed the form of the winged disk and flew down to earth as a fiery bolt to destroy the enemies of Re.

The recognition of the homology of the winged disk with the double axe solves a host of problems which have puzzled classical scholars within recent years. The form of the double axe on the Mycenæan ring[1] and the painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada in Crete (and especially the oblique markings upon the axe) is probably a suggestion of the double series of feathers and the outlines of the individual feathers respectively on the wings. The position of the axe upon a symbolic tree is not intended, as Blinkenberg claims (*op. cit.*, p. 21), as "a ritual representation of the trees struck by lightning" : but is the familiar scene of the Mesopotamian culture-area, the tree of life surmounted by the winged disk.[2]

The bird poised upon the axe in the Cretan picture is the homologue of the falcon of Horus : it is in fact a second representation of the winged disk itself. This interpretation is not affected by the consideration that the falcon may be replaced by the eagle, pigeon, woodpecker or raven, for these substitutions were repeatedly made by the ancient priesthoods in flagrant defiance of the proprieties of ornithological homologies. The same phenomenon is displayed even more obtrusively in Central America and Mexico, where the ancient sculptors

[1] Evans, *op. cit.*, Fig. 4, p. 10.

[2] William Hayes Ward, "The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia," chapter xxxviii.

and painters represented the bird perched upon the tree of life as a falcon, an eagle, a vulture, a macaw or even a turkey.[1]

The incident of the winged disk descending to effect the sun-god's purposes upon earth probably represents the earliest record of the recognition of thunder and lightning and the phenomena of rain as manifestations of the god's powers. All gods of thunder, lightning, rain and clouds derive their attributes, and the arbitrary graphic representation of them, from the legend which the Egyptian scribe has preserved for us in the Saga of the Winged Disk.

The sacred axe of Crete is represented elsewhere as a sword which became the visible impersonation of the deity.[2] There is a Hittite story of a sword-handle coming to life. Hose and McDougall refer to the same incident in certain Sarawak legends ; and the story is true to the original in the fact that the sword fell from the sun.[3]

Sir Arthur Evans describes as "the aniconic image of the god" a stone pillar on which crude pictures of a double axe have been scratched. These representations of the axe in fact serve the same purpose as the winged disk in Egypt, and, as we shall see subsequently, there was an actual confusion between the Egyptian symbol and the Cretan axe.

The obelisk at Abusir was the aniconic representative of the sun-god Re, or rather, the support of the pyramidal apex, the gilded surface of which reflected the sun's rays and so made manifest the god's presence in the stone.

The Hittites seem to have substituted the winged disk as a representation of the sun : for in a design copied from a seal[4] we find the Egyptian symbol borne upon the apex of a cone.

The transition from this to the great double axe from Hagia Triada in the Candia Museum[5] is a relatively easy one, which was materially helped, as we shall see, by the fact that the winged disk was actually homologized with an axe or knife as alternative weapons used by the sun-god for the destruction of mankind.

In Dr. Seligman's account of the Dinka rain-maker (*supra*, p. 354)

[1] Seler, "Codex Vaticanus, No. 3773," vol. i., p. 77 *et seq.*

[2] Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[3] "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo," 1912, vol. ii., p. 137.

[4] Evans, *op. cit.*, Fig. 8, *c*, p. 17.

[5] There is an excellent photograph of this in Donald McKenzie's "Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe," facing p. 160.

we have already seen that the Soudanese Osiris was identified with a spear and falling stars.

According to Dr. Budge[1] the Egyptian hieroglyph used as the determinative of the word *neter*, meaning god or spirit, is the axe with a handle. Mr. Griffith, however, interprets it as a roll of yellow cloth ("Hieroglyphics," p. 46). On Hittite seals the axe sometimes takes the place of the god Teshub.[2]

Sir Arthur Evans endeavours to explain these conceptions by a vague appeal to certain natural phenomena (*op. cit.*, pp. 20 and 21); but the identical traditions of widespread peoples are much too arbitrary and specific to be interpreted by any such speculations.

Sanchoniathon's story of Baetylos being the son of Ouranos is merely a poetical way of saying that the sun-god fell to earth in the form of a stone or a weapon, as a Zeus Kappôtas or a Horus in the form of a winged disk, flying down from heaven to destroy the enemies of Re.

"The idea of their [the weapons] flying through the air or falling from heaven, and their supposed power of burning with inner fire or shining in the nighttime," was not primarily suggested, as Sir Arthur Evans claims (*op. cit.*, p. 21), "by the phenomena associated with meteoric stones," but was a rationalization of the events described in the early Egyptian and Babylonian stories.

They "shine at night" because the original weapon of destruction was the moon as the Eye of Re. They "burn with inward fire," like the Babylonian Marduk, when in the fight with the dragon Tiamat "he filled his body with burning flame" (King, *op. cit.*, p. 71), because they *were* fire, the fire of the sun and of lightning, the fire spat out by the Eye of Re.

Further evidence in corroboration of these views is provided by the fact that in the Ægean area the double-axe replaces the moon between the cow's horns (Evans, *op. cit.*, Fig. 3, p. 9).

In King's "Babylonian Religion" (pp. 70 and 71) we are told how the gods provided Marduk with an invincible weapon in preparation for the combat with the dragon: and the ancient scribe himself sets forth a series of its homologues:—

[1] "The Gods of the Egyptians," vol. i., pp. 63 *et seq.*
[2] See, for example, Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

He made ready his bow . . .
He slung a spear . . .
The bow and quiver . . .
He set the lightning in front of him,
With burning flame he filled his body.

An ancient Egyptian writer has put on record further identifications of weapons. In the 95th Chapter of the Book of the Dead, the deceased is reported to have said: "I am he who sendeth forth terror into the powers of rain and thunder. . . . I have made to flourish my knife which is in the hand of Thoth in the powers of rain and thunder" (Budge, "Gods of the Egyptians," vol. i., p. 414).

The identification of the winged disk with the thunderbolt which emerges so definitely from these homologies is not altogether new, for it was suggested some years ago by Count d'Alviella[1] in these words:—

"On seeing some representations of the Thunderbolt which recall in a remarkable manner the outlines of the Winged Globe, it may be asked if it was not owing to this latter symbol that the Greeks transformed into a winged spindle the Double Trident derived from Assyria. At any rate the transition, or, if it be preferred, the combination of the two symbols is met with in those coins from Northern Africa where Greek art was most deeply impregnated with Phœnician types. Thus on coins of Bocchus II, King of Mauretania, figures are found which M. Lajard connected with the Winged Globe, and M. L. Müller calls Thunderbolts, but which are really the result of crossing between these two emblems".

The thunderbolt, however, is not always, or even commonly, the direct representative of the winged disk. It is more often derived from lightning or some floral design.[2]

According to Count d'Alviella[3] "the Trident of Siva at times exhibits the form of a lotus calyx depicted in the Egyptian manner".

"Perhaps other transformations of the *trisula* might still be found at Boro-Budur [in Java]. . . . The same Disk which, when transformed into a most complicated ornament, is sometimes crowned by a Trident, is also met with between two serpents—which brings us back to the origin of the Winged Circle—the Globe of Egypt with the

[1] "The Migration of Symbols," pp. 220 and 221.
[2] Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 53. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 256.

uræi" (see d'Alviella's Fig. 158). "Moreover this ornament, between which and certain forms of the *trisula* the transition is easily traced, commonly surmounts the entrance to the pagodas depicted in the bas-reliefs—in exactly the same manner as the Winged Globe adorns the lintel of the temples in Egypt and Phœnicia."

Thus we find traces of a blending of the two homologous designs, derived independently from the lotus and the winged disk, which acquired the same symbolic significance.

The weapon of Poseidon, the so-called "Trident of Neptune," is "sometimes crowned with a trilobate lotus flower, or with three lotus buds; in other cases it is depicted in a shape that may well represent a fishing spear" (Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 and 54).

"Even if Jacobsthal's interpretation of the flower as a common Greek symbol for fire be not accepted, the conventionalization of the trident as a lotus blossom is quite analogous to the change, on Greek soil, of the Assyrian thunderweapon to two flowers pointing in opposite directions" (p. 54).

But the conception of a flower as a symbol of fire cannot thus summarily be dismissed. For Sir Arthur Evans has collected all the stages in the transformation of Egyptian palmette pillars into the rayed pillars of Cyprus, in which the leaflets of the palmette become converted (in the Cypro-Mycenæan derivatives) into the rays which he calls "the natural concomitant of divinities of light".[1]

The underlying motive which makes such a transference easy is the Egyptian conception of Hathor as a sacred lotus from which the sun-god Horus is born. The god of light is identified with the water-plant, whether lotus, iris or lily; and the lotus form of Horus can be correlated with its Hellenic surrogate, Apollo Hyakinthos. "The fleur-de-lys type now takes its place beside the sacred lotus" (*op. cit.*, p. 50). The trident and the fleur-de-lys are thunderweapons because they represent forms of Horus or his mother.

The classical keraunos is still preserved in Tibet as the *dorje*, which is identified with Indra's thunderbolt, the *vajra*.[2] This word is also applied to the diamond, the "king of stones," which in turn acquired many of the attributes of the pearl, another of the Great

[1] "Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult," pp. 51 and 52.
[2] See Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-8.

Mother's surrogates, which is reputed to have fallen from heaven like the thunderbolt.[1]

The Tibetan *dorje*, like its Greek original, is obviously a conventionalized flower, the leaf-design about the base of the corona being quite clearly defined.

The influence of the Winged-Disk Saga is clearly revealed in such Greek myths as that relating to Ixion. "Euripides is represented by Aristophanes as declaring that *Aithér* at the creation devised

The eye to mimic the wheel of the sun."[2]

When we read of Zeus in anger binding Ixion to a winged wheel made of fire, and sending him spinning through the air, we are merely dealing with a Greek variant of the Egyptian myth in which Re despatched Horus as a winged disk to slay his enemies. In the Hellenic version the sky-god is angry with the father of the centaurs for his ill-treatment of his father-in-law and his behaviour towards Hera and her cloud-manifestation: but though distorted all the incidents reveal their original inspiration in the Egyptian story and its early Aryan variants.

It is remarkable that Mr. A. B. Cook, who compared the wheel of Ixion with the Egyptian winged disk (pp. 205-10), did not look deeper for a common origin of the two myths, especially when he got so far as to identify Ixion with the sun-god (p. 211).

Blinkenberg sums up the development of the thunder-weapon thus: "From the old Babylonian representation of the lightning, i.e. two or three zigzag lines representing flames, a tripartite thunder-weapon was evolved and carried east and west from the ancient seat of civilization.

[1] I must defer consideration of the part played by certain of the Great Mother's surrogates in the development of the thunder-weapon's symbolism and the associated folk-lore. I have in mind especially the influence of the octopus and the cow. The former was responsible in part for the use of the spiral as a thunder-symbol; and the latter for the beliefs in the special protective power of thunderstones over cows (see Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*). The thunderstone was placed over the lintel of the cow-shed for the same purpose as the winged disk over the door of an Egyptian temple. Until the relations of the octopus to the dragon have been set forth it is impossible adequately to discuss the question of the seven-headed dragon, which ranges from Scotland to Japan and from Scandinavia to the Zambesi. In "The Birth of Aphrodite" I shall call attention to the basal factors in its evolution.

[2] A. B. Cook, "Zeus," vol. i., p. 198.

Together with the axe (in Western Asia Minor the double-edged, and towards the centre of Asia the single-edged, axe) it became a regular attribute of the Asiatic thunder-gods. . . . The Indian trisula and the Greek triaina are both its descendants" (p. 57).

Discussing the relationship of the sun-god to thunder, Dr. Rendel Harris refers to the fact that Apollo's "arrows are said to be lightnings," and he quotes Pausanias, Apollodorus and Mr. A. B. Cook in substantiation of his statements.[1] Both sons of Zeus, Dionysus and Apollo, are "concerned with the production of fire".

According to Hyginus, Typhon was the son of Tartarus and the Earth: he made war against Jupiter for dominion, and, being struck by lightning, was thrown flaming to the earth, where Mount Ætna was placed upon him.[2]

In this curious variant of the story of the winged disk, the conflict of Horus with Set is merged with the Destruction, for the son of Tartarus [Osiris] and the Earth [Isis] here is not Horus but his hostile brother Set. Instead of fighting for Jupiter (Re) as Horus did, he is against him. The lightning (which is Horus in the form of the winged disk) strikes Typhon and throws him flaming to earth. The episode of Mount Ætna is the antithesis of the incident in the Indian legend of the churning of the ocean: Mount Meru is placed in the sea upon the tortoise *avatar* of Vishnu and is used to churn the food of immortality for the gods. In the Egyptian story the red ochre brought from Elephantine is pounded with the barley.

The story told by Hyginus leads up to the vision in Revelations (xii., 7 *et seq.*): "There was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought, and his angels, and prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him."

[1] "The Ascent of Olympus," p. 32.

[2] Tartarus ex Terra procreavit Typhonem, immani magnitudine, speciequeportentosa, cui centum capita draconum ex humeris enata erant. Hic Jovem provocavit, si vellet secum de regno centare. Jovis fulmine ardenti pectus ejus percussit. Cui cum flagraret, montem Ætnam, qui est in Siciliâ, super eum imposuit; qui ex eo adhuc ardere dicitur" (Hyginus, fab. 152).

In the later variants the original significance of the Destruction of Mankind seems to have been lost sight of. The life-giving Great Mother tends to drop out of the story and her son Horus takes her place. He becomes the warrior-god, but he not only assumes his mother's rôle but he also adopts her tactics. Just as she attacked Re's enemies in the capacity of the sky-god's "Eye," so Horus as the other "Eye," the sun, to which he gave his own falcon's wings, attacked in the form of the winged disk. The winged disk, like the other "Eye of Re," was not merely the sky weapon which shot down to destroy mankind, but also was the god Horus himself. This early conception involved the belief that the thunderbolt and lightning represented not merely the fiery weapon but the actual god.

The winged disk thus exhibits the same confusion of attributes as we have already noticed in Osiris and Hathor. It is the commonest symbol of life-giving and beneficent protective power: yet it is the weapon used to slaughter mankind. It is in fact the healing caduceus as well as the baneful thunder-weapon.

The Deer.

One of the most surprising features of the dragon in China, Japan and America, is the equipment of deer's horns.

In Babylonia both Ea and Marduk are intimately associated with the antelope or gazelle, and the combination of the head of the antelope (or in other cases the goat) with the body of a fish is the most characteristic manifestation of either god. In Egypt both Osiris and Horus are at times brought into relationship with the gazelle or antelope, but more often it represents their enemy Set. Hence, in some parts of Africa, especially in the west, the antelope plays the part of the dragon in Asiatic stories.[1] The cow[2] of Hathor (Tiamat) may represent the dragon also. In East Africa the antelope assumes the rôle of the hero,[3] and is the representative of Horus. In the Ægean area, Asia Minor

[1] Frobenius, "The Voice of Africa," vol. ii., p. 467 *inter alia.*

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 468.

[3] J. F. Campbell, "The Celtic Dragon Myth," with the "Geste of Fraoch and the Dragon," translated with Introduction by George Henderson, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 136.

and Europe the antelope, gazelle or the deer, may be associated with the Great Mother.[1]

In India the god Soma's chariot is drawn by an antelope. I have already suggested that Soma is only a specialized form of the Babylonian Ea, whole evil *avatar* is the dragon : there is thus suggested another link between the antelope and the latter. The Ea-element explains the fish-scales and the antelope provides the horns. I shall return to the discussion of this point later.

Vayu or Pavana, the Indian god of the winds, who afterwards became merged with Indra, rides upon an antelope like the Egyptian Horus. Soma's attributes also were in large measure taken over by Indra. Hence in this complex tissue of contradictions we once more find the dragon-slayer acquiring the insignia, in this case the antelope, of his mortal enemy.

I have already referred to the fact that the early Babylonian deities could also be demons. Tiamat, the dragon whom Marduk fought, was merely the malevolent *avatar* of the Great Mother. The dragon acquired his covering of fish-scales from an evil form of Ea.

In his Hibbert Lectures Professor Sayce claimed that the name of Ea was expressed by an ideograph which signifies literally " the antelope " (p. 280). " Ea was called ' the antelope of the deep,' ' the antelope the creator,' ' the lusty antelope '. We should have expected the animal of Ea to have been the fish : the fact that it is not so points to the conclusion that the culture-god of Southern Babylonia was an amalgamation of two earlier deities, one the divine antelope and the other the divine fish." Ea was " originally the god of the river and was also associated with the snake ". Nina was also both the fish-goddess and the divinity whose name is interchanged with that of the deep. Professor Sayce then refers to " the curious process of development which transformed the old serpent-goddess, ' the lady Nina,' into the embodiment of all that was hostile to the powers of heaven ; but after all, Nina had sprung from the fish-god of the deep [who also was

[1] For example the red deer occupies the place usually taken by the goddess's lions upon a Cretan gem (Evans, " Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult," Fig. 32, p. 56) : on the bronze plate from Heddemheim (A. B. Cook, " Zeus," vol. i., pl. xxxiv., and p. 620) Isis is represented standing on a hind : Artemis, another *avatar* of the same Great Mother, was intimately associated with deer.

both antelope and serpent as well, see p. 282], and Tiamat is herself 'the deep' in Semitic dress" (p. 283).

"At times Ea was regarded as a gazelle rather than as an antelope." The position of the name in the list of animals shows what species of animal must be meant. *Lulim*, "a stag," seems to be a re-duplicated form of the same word. Both *lulim* and *elim* are said to be equivalent to *sarru*, king (p. 284).

Certain Assyriologists, from whom I asked for enlightenment upon these philological matters, express some doubt as to the antiquity or to the reality of the association of the names of Ea and the word for an antelope, gazelle or stag. But whatever the value of the linguistic evidence, the archæological, at any rate as early as the time of Nebuchadnezzar I, brings both Ea and Marduk into close association with a strange creature equipped with the horns of an antelope or gazelle. The association with the antelope of the homologous deities in India and Egypt leaves the reality of the connexion in no doubt. I had hoped that Professor Sayce's evidence would have provided some explanation of the strange association of the antelope. But whether or not the philological data justify the inferences which Professor Sayce drew from them, there can be no doubt concerning the correctness of his statement that Ea was represented both by fish and antelope, for in the course of his excavations at Susa M. J. de Morgan brought to light representations of Ea's animal consisting of an antelope's head on the body of a fish.[1] He also makes the statement that the ideogram of Ea, *turahu-apsu*, means "antelope of the sea". I have already (p. 329) referred to the fact that this "antelope of the sea," the so-called "goat-fish," is identical with the prototype of the dragon.

If his claim that the names of Ea meant both a "fish" and an "antelope" were well founded, the pun would have solved this problem, as it has done in the case of many other puzzles in the history of early civilization. But if this is not the case, the question is still open for solution. As Set was held to be personified in all the desert animals, the gazelle was identified with the demon of evil for this reason. In her important treatise on "The Asiatic Dionysos" Miss Gladys Davis tells us that "in his aspect of Moon 'the lord of stars'

[1] J. de Morgan, article on "Koudourrous," *Mem. Del. en Perse*, t. 7, 1905. Figures on p. 143 and p. 148 : see also an earlier article on the same subject in tome i. of the same series.

Soma has in this character the antelope as his symbol. In fact, one of the names given to the moon by the early Indians was 'mṛiga-piplu' or marked like an antelope" (p. 202). Further she adds: "The Sanskrit name for the lunar mansion over which Soma presides is 'mṛiga-śiras' or the deer-headed." If it be admitted that Soma is merely the Aryan specialization of Ea and Osiris, as I have claimed, Sayce's association of Ea with the antelope is corroborated, even if it is not explained.

In China the dragon was sometimes called "the celestial stag" (de Groot, *op. cit.*, p. 1143). In Mexico the deer has the same intimate celestial relations as it has in the Old World (see Seler, *Zeit. f. Ethnologie*, Bd. 41, p. 414). I have already referred to the remarkable Maya deer-crocodile *makara* in the Liverpool Museum (p. 344).

The systematic zoology of the ancients was lacking in the precision of modern times; and there are reasons for supposing that the antelope and gazelle could exchange places the one with the other in their divine rôles; the deer and the rabbit were also their surrogates. In India a spotted rabbit can take the place of the antelope in playing the part of what we call "the man in the moon". This interpretation is common, not only in India, but also in China, and is repeatedly found in the ancient Mexican codices (Seler, *op. cit.*). In the spread of the ideas we have just been considering from Babylonia towards the north we find that the deer takes the place of the antelope.

In view of the close resemblance between the Indian god Soma and the Phrygian Dionysus, which has been demonstrated by Miss Gladys Davis, it is of interest to note that in the service of the Greek god a man was disguised as a stag, slain and eaten.[1]

Artemis also, one of the many *avatars* of the Great Mother, who was also related to the moon, was closely associated with the deer.

I have already referred to the fact that in Africa the dragon rôle of the female antelope may be assumed by the cow or buffalo. In the case of the gods Soma and Dionysus their association with the antelope or deer may be extended to the bull. Miss Davis (*op. cit.*) states that in the Homa Yasht the deer-headed lunar mansion over which the god presides is spoken of as "leading the Paurvas," i.e. Pleiades: "Mazda brought to thee (Homa) the star-studded spirit-fashioned girdle (the belt of Orion) leading the Paurvas. Now the Bull-Dionysus

[1] A. B. Cook, "Zeus," vol. i., p. 674.

was especially associated with the Pleiades on ancient gems and in classical mythology—which form part of the sign Taurus." The bull is a sign of Haoma (Homa) or Soma. The belt of the thunder-god Thor corroborates the fact of the diffusion of these Babylonian ideas as far as Northern Europe.

The Ram.

The close association of the ram with the thunder-god is probably related with the fact that the sun-god Amon in Egypt was represented by the ram with a distinctive spiral horn. This spiral became a distinctive feature of the god of thunder throughout the Hellenic and Phœnician worlds and in those parts of Africa which were affected by their influence or directly by Egypt.

An account of the widespread influence of the ram-headed god of thunder in the Soudan and West Africa has been given by Frobenius.[1]

But the ram also became associated with Agni, the Indian fire-god, and the spiral as a head-appendage became the symbol of thunder throughout China and Japan, and from Asia spread to America where such deities as Tlaloc still retain this distinctive token of their origin from the Old World.

In Europe this association of the ram and its spiral horn played an even more obtrusive part.

The octopus as a surrogate of the Great Mother was primarily responsible for the development of the life-giving attributes of the spiral motif. But the close connexion of the Great Mother with the dragon and the thunder-weapon prepared the way for the special association of the spiral with thunder, which was confirmed when the ram with its spiral horn became the God of Thunder.

The Pig.

The relationship of the pig to the dragon is on the whole analogous to that of the cow and the stag, for it can play either a beneficent or a malevolent part. But the nature of the special circumstances which gave the pig a peculiar notoriety as an unclean animal are so intimately associated with the "Birth of Aphrodite" that I shall defer the discussion of them for my lecture on the history of the goddess.

[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 212-27.

Certain Incidents in the Dragon Myth.

Throughout the greater part of the area which tradition has peopled with dragons, iron is regarded as peculiarly lethal to the monsters. This seems to be due to the part played by the "smiths" who forged iron weapons with which Horus overcame Set and his followers,[1] or in the earlier versions of the legend the metal weapons by means of which the people of Upper Egypt secured their historic victory over the Lower Egyptians. But the association of meteoric iron with the thunderbolt, the traditional weapon for destroying dragons, gave added force to the ancient legend and made it peculiarly apt as an incident in the story.

But though the dragon is afraid of iron, he likes precious gems and *k'ung-ts'ing* ("The Stone of Darkness") and is fond of roasted swallows.

The partiality of dragons for swallows was due to the transmission of a very ancient story of the Great Mother, who in the form of Isis was identified with the swallow. In China, so ravenous is the monster for this delicacy, that anyone who has eaten of swallows should avoid crossing the water, lest the dragon whose home is in the deep should devour the traveller to secure the dainty morsel of swallow. But those who pray for rain use swallows to attract the beneficent deity. Even in England swallows flying low are believed to be omens of coming rain —a tale which is about as reliable as the Chinese variant of the same ancient legend.

"The beautiful gems remind us of the Indian dragons; the pearls of the sea were, of course, in India as well as China and Japan, considered to be in the special possession of the dragon-shaped sea-gods" (de Visser, p. 69). The cultural drift from West to East along the southern coast of India was effected mainly by sailors who were searching for pearls. Sharks constituted the special dangers the divers had to incur in exploiting pearl-beds to obtain the precious "giver of life". But at the time these great enterprises were first undertaken in the Indian Ocean the people dwelling in the neighbourhood of the chief pearl-beds regarded the sea as the great source of all life-giving virtues and the god who exercised these powers was incarnated in a fish. The sharks therefore had to be brought into harmony with this scheme, and

[1] Budge, "Gods of the Egyptians," vol. i., p. 476.

they were rationalized as the guardians of the storehouse of life-giving pearls at the bottom of the sea.

I do not propose to discuss at present the diffusion to the East of the beliefs concerning the shark and the modifications which they underwent in the course of these migrations in Melanesia and elsewhere; but in my lecture upon "the Birth of Aphrodite" I shall have occasion to refer to its spread to the West and explain how the shark's rôle was transferred to the dog-fish in the Mediterranean. The dog-fish then assumed a terrestrial form and became simply the dog who plays such a strange part in the magical ceremony of digging up the mandrake.

At present we are concerned merely with the shark as the guardian of the stores of pearls at the bottom of the sea. He became identified with the Nâga and the dragon, and the store of pearls became a vast treasure-house which it became one of the chief functions of the dragon to guard. This episode in the wonder-beast's varied career has a place in most of the legends ranging from Western Europe to Farthest Asia. Sometimes the dragon carries a pearl under his tongue or in his chin as a reserve of life-giving substance.

Mr. Donald Mackenzie has called attention[1] to the remarkable influence upon the development of the Dragon Myth of the familiar Egyptian representation of the child Horus with a finger touching his lips. On some pretence or other, many of the European dragon-slaying heroes, such as Sigurd and the Highland Finn, place their fingers in their mouths. This action is usually rationalized by the statement that the hero burnt his fingers while cooking the slain monster.

The Ethical Aspect.

So far in this discussion I have been dealing mainly with the problems of the dragon's evolution, the attainment of his or her distinctive anatomical features and physiological attributes. But during this process of development a moral and ethical aspect of the dragon's character was also emerging.

Now that we have realized the fact of the dragon's homology with the moon-god it is important to remember that one of the primary functions of this deity, which later became specialized in the Egyptian

[1] "Egyptian Myth and Legend," pp. 340 *et seq.*

god Thoth, was the measuring of time and the keeping of records. The moon, in fact, was the controller of accuracy, of truth, and order, and therefore the enemy of falsehood and chaos. The identification of the moon with Osiris, who from a dead king eventually developed into a king of the dead, conferred upon the great Father of Waters the power to exact from men respect for truth and order. For even if at first these ideas were only vaguely adumbrated and not expressed in set phrases, it must have been an incentive to good discipline when men remembered that the record-keeper and the guardian of law and order was also the deity upon whose tender mercies they would have to rely in the life after death. Set, the enemy of Osiris, who is the real prototype of the evil dragon, was the antithesis of the god of justice : he was the father of falsehood and the symbol of chaos. He was the prototype of Satan, as Osiris was the first definite representative of the Deity of which any record has been preserved.

The history of the evil dragon is not merely the evolution of the devil, but it also affords the explanation of his traditional peculiarities, his bird-like features, his horns, his red colour, his wings and cloven hoofs, and his tail. They are all of them the dragon's distinctive features ; and from time to time in the history of past ages we catch glimpses of the reality of these identifications. In one of the earliest woodcuts (Fig. 14) found in a printed book Satan is depicted as a monk with the bird's feet of the dragon. A most interesting intermediate phase is seen in a Chinese water-colour in the John Rylands Library, in which the thunder-dragon is represented in a form almost exactly reproducing that of the devil of European tradition (Fig. 13.).

Early in the Christian era, when ancient beliefs in Egypt became disguised under a thin veneer of Christianity, the story of the conflict between Horus and Set was converted into a conflict between Christ and Satan. M. Clermont-Ganneau has described an interesting bas-relief in the Louvre in which a hawk-headed St. George, clad in Roman military uniform and mounted on a horse, is slaying a dragon which is represented by Set's crocodile.[1] But the Biblical references to Satan leave no doubt as to his identity with the dragon, who is

[1] " Horus et St. George d'après un bas-relief inedit du Louvre," *Revue Archéologique*, Nouvelle Série, t. xxxii., 1876, p. 196, pl. xviii. It is right to explain that M. Clermont-Ganneau's interpretation of this relief has not been accepted by all scholars.

Fig. 13.- The God of Thunder
(From a Chinese drawing (? 17th Century) in the John Rylands Library)

Fig. 14. From Johannes de Turrecremata's "Meditationes seu Contemplationes". *Rome: Ulrich Han*, 1467

specifically mentioned in the Book of Revelations as "the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan" (xx. 2).

The devil Set was symbolic of disorder and darkness, while the god Osiris was the maintainer of order and the giver of light. Although the moon-god, in the form of Osiris, Thoth and other deities, thus came to acquire the moral attributes of a just judge, who regulated the movements of the celestial bodies, controlled the waters upon the earth, and was responsible for the maintenance of order in the Universe, the ethical aspect of his functions was in large measure disguised by the material importance of his duties. In Babylonia similar views were held with respect to the beneficent water-god Ea, who was the giver of civilization, order and justice, and Sin, the moon-god, who "had attained a high position in the Babylonian pantheon," as "the guide of the stars and the planets, the overseer of the world at night". "From that conception a god of high moral character soon developed." "He is an extremely beneficent deity, he is a king, he is the ruler of men, he produces order and stability, like Shamash and like the Indian Varuṇa and Mitra, but besides that, he is also a judge, he loosens the bonds of the imprisoned, like Varuṇa. His light, like that of Varuṇa, is the symbol of righteousness. . . . Like the Indian Varuṇa and the Iranian Mazdâh, he is a god of wisdom."

When these Egyptian and Babylonian ideas were borrowed by the Aryans, and the Iranian Mazdâh and the Indian Varuṇa assumed the rôle of the beneficent deity of the former more ancient civilizations, the material aspect of the functions of the moon-god became less obtrusive; and there gradually emerged the conception, to which Zarathushtra first gave concrete expression, of the beneficent god Ahura Mazdâh as "an omniscient protector of morality and creator of marvellous power and knowledge". "He is the most-knowing one, and the most-seeing one. No one can deceive him. He watches with radiant eyes everything that is done in open or in secret." "Although he has a strong personality he has no anthropomorphic features." He has shed the material aspects which loomed so large in his Egyptian, Babylonian and earlier Aryan prototypes, and a more ethereal conception of a God of the highest ethical qualities has emerged.

The whole of this process of transformation has been described with deep insight and lucid exposition by Professor Cumont, from whose im-

portant and convincing memoir I have quoted so freely in the foregoing paragraphs.[1]

The creation of a beneficent Deity of such moral grandeur inevitably emphasized the baseness and the malevolence of the "Power of Evil". No longer are the gods merely glorified human beings who can work good or evil as they will; but there is now an all-powerful God controlling the morals of the universe, and in opposition to Him "the dragon, the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan".

[1] Albert J. Carnoy, "The Moral Deities of Iran and India and their Origins," *The American Journal of Theology*, vol. xxi., No. 1, Jan. 1917, p. 58.

THE JEWS IN THE "USE OF YORK".

By ROBERT FAWTIER.

AGRÉGÉ D'HISTOIRE, ANCIEN MEMBRE DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE DE ROME.

IN the service for Good Friday, in the Catholic Church, occurs a set of nine prayers called "*orationes sollemnes*"; they are prayers for the Church,—for the Pope,—for the ecclesiastical hierarchy,—for the Emperor,—for catechumens,—for the suffering : the sick, the hungry, prisoners and seamen,—for the Jews,—for the heathen.

The following is an example of the ritual used for these prayers : [1]

[The priest.] *Oremus, dilectissimi nobis, pro Ecclesia sancta Dei, ut eam Deus et Dominus noster pacificare et custodire dignetur, toto orbe terrarum subiciens ei principatus et potestates, detque nobis quietam et tranquillam vitam de gentibus glorificare Deum patrem omnipotentem. Oremus.*

[The deacon.] *Flectamus genua—Levate.*

[The priest.] *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui gloriam tuam omnibus in Christo gentibus revelasti, custodi opera misericordiae tuae ut ecclesia tua toto orbe diffusa stabili fide in confessione tui nominis perseveret, per eumdem* [*Christum dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia secula seculorum.*]

[The congregation.] *Amen.*

In the prayer for the Jews, however, and only in this, the ritual differs : the priest does not say *Oremus* at the end of the first monition, the deacon does not add *Flectamus genua* and *levate*, and the congregation does not kneel.

In his excellent note concerning the prayer for the Jews, M. Canet [2]

[1] I quote according to the use of Sarum. The *Sarum Missal*, ed. J. Wickham Legg. Oxford, 1916, 8vo, p. 110.

[2] Louis Canet, *La prière "pro judaeis" de la liturgie catholique romaine* in *Revue des Etudes Juives*, LXI. 1911, pp. 213-21.

has shown that in the Primitive Church, i.e. before the IXth century, the ritual was the same for the prayer for the Jews as for the others but that, under antisemitic influences, the Church was pressed by the people to alter the ritual, the congregation refusing to obey the injunction of the deacon. M. Canet observes three stages in the evolution of the ritual :—[1]

(1) *Oremus* and *flectamus* (till the IXth century).

(2) *Oremus* without *flectamus* (IXth-XVIth century).

(3) Neither *Oremus* nor *flectamus* (after XVIth century).

A manuscript of the John Rylands Library shows us that a fourth stage may perhaps be added to the three discerned by M. Canet.

This manuscript [*Latin* 190] is a codex on vellum of 168 leaves (291 × 199 mm.) formed by the binding together of two manuscripts of which the first only (fa. 1-52) concerns us here. Apart from a few additions in later hands on fo. 7*b* and fo. 8 *a* and *b*, this manuscript is written by one hand in double columns of twenty-one lines, with rubrics and many initials drawn crudely but carefully in red and blue and in a primitive style. It is unfortunately imperfect at the end, but the part which we have contains a most important text of the Missal according to the use of York.[2]

We can easily fix the date of the writing. Fa. 2-7*a* contain a calendar in which the feast of St. Thomas Becket is correctly placed on the 29th of December.[3] This gives a *terminus a quo* which cannot be before 1174, the murdered archbishop having been canonized the 23rd of November, 1173.[4] As we find the translation of the body of the same saint, written by a decidedly later hand, on the 7th of July,[5] we can be certain that our manuscript was written before July, 1220.[6] The strongly marked difference between the writing of the

[1] *eod. loc.*, p. 218.

[2] This manuscript was utilized by Dr. Henderson for his *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis* in *Surtees Society*, LIX. LX. 1874. It was at that time the property of Dean (afterwards Bishop) J. Gott of Leeds. It was purchased by the John Rylands Library in 1912 through Mr. Quaritch.

[3] *Latin MS.* 190, fo. 6*b*.

[4] *The Political History of England*, ed. W. Hunt and R. L. Poole, t. II. p. 297.

[5] *Latin MS.* 190, fo. 4.

[6] *The Political History of England*, t. III. p. 19.

feast and that of the translation leads us to conclude that our manuscript was written in the very last years of the XIIth century, and therefore that it is in fact the oldest known copy of the use of York.

We can less easily identify the place where it was written ; we have, however, grounds for a reasonable hypothesis. The calendar gives for St. Hilda's Day, the day of the translation of her body, the 25th of August.[1] As the day generally ascribed for the commemoration of this saint is the 17th of November,[2] we may conclude that our manuscript must come from a place where the holy body had been preserved, and for which therefore the translation was the anniversary to be commemorated rather than the real feast of the saint. This was the case at Whitby Abbey[3] of which St. Hilda was the founder, and from which the holy body had been removed to Glastonbury in the time of the Danish invasion to be restored to its original resting place when the Abbey was practically refounded in the XIth century.[4]

Another point of less weight but worthy of attention is the fact that All Souls' Day is marked in the calendar.[5] We know that this feast had no official recognition in England before the Council of Oxford in 1222,[6] and we have shown that our manuscript was written before 1220. But we know that the celebration of this feast was in use in the Cluniac monasteries[7] a long time before its admission in England and that this admission was due to Cluniac influences. As our manuscript marks this feast in the calendar we may ascribe its origin to a Cluniac monastery. Whitby was a Cluniac house.

We believe, therefore, that we are justified in concluding that the

[1] *Latin MS.* 190, fo. 4*b*.

[2] *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, I. 583.

[3] Cf. J. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*. York, 1758, fol. pp. 68-85. L. Charlton, *The History of Whitby and Whitby Abbey*. York, 1779, 4to, and J. C. Atkinson in his introductory chapters to the *Cartularium Abbatiae de Whiteby* in *Surtees Society*, LXIX. 1879. It is interesting to note that St. Hilda's Day at Whitby was the day of the translation. The yearly fair was appointed on that day by King Henry II. and was held on the same day till the XVIIIth century. L. Charlton, *op. cit.*, I. 139.

[4] Burton, *loc. cit.*, p. 59. Charlton, *op. cit.*, I. 44.

[5] *Latin MS.* 190, fo. 6. "*Commemoratio omnium fidelium defunctorum.*

[6] Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum amplissima collectio*, XXII. p. 1153.

[7] Hergenröther and Kaulen, *Kirchenlexikon*, art. Allerseelen.

Rylands manuscript was written in Whitby Abbey in the very last years of the XIIth century.

The manuscript contains the collects, secrets, and post-communions for the temporal of the year till the 29th Sunday "*post octavas Pentecostis*," which gives us the text of the service for Good Friday.

The prayer for the Jews is composed in the following manner :— [1]

Oremus et pro perfidis Judaeis ut Deus et Dominus noster auferat velamen De cordibus eorum ut et ipsi agnoscant Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Oremus.
Hic Flectamus genua [rubric].

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui etiam judaicam perfidiam a tua misericordia non repellis, exaudi preces nostras quas tibi pro illius populi obcecatione deferimus, ut agnita veritatis tuae luce quae Christus est a suis tenebris eruantur per eumdem.

The rubric has been corrected by the addition in black ink of the word "*non*" (which gives "*Hic non flectamus genua*") in a hand as to which it is difficult to say if it is a much later or a nearly contemporary one. The rubrics for the eight other prayers are : *Oremus. Diaconus : Flectamus genua.*

Two explanations are possible, and we must choose between them : either we have a mere scribe's mistake, or our manuscript gives a new form of the ritual. I accept the second explanation for the following reasons :—

(1) As the scribe is here writing a very exceptional formula in the middle of a series of similar ones, it is reasonable to suppose that his attention would be attracted by the difference and that he copied correctly what was before him.

(2) Even if we accept the correction, the formula used when the *flectamus* is omitted for the Jews is not the one found in our manuscript. The phrase we find in the old English missals is "*Hic non dicitur Flectamus genua*," [2] or "*Hic non dicatur Flectamus genua*" [3].

[1] *Latin MS.* 190, fo. 30 *a* and *b*.

[2] *Missale ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ed. E. W. Henderson, I. 104. *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordensis*, ed. W. G. Henderson, 1874, 8vo, p. 93.

[3] *The Sarum Missal*, p. 112. M. Canet, *op. cit.*, quotes the continental and some of the earliest English formulas.

(3) The rubric at the beginning of the "*Orationes sollemnes*" gives no indication of a particular ritual for the prayer for the Jews and says only "*Post passionem dicat Episcopus vel sacerdos has orationes*".[1] Contrariwise the later manuscripts of the use of York,[2] the manuscript of the use of Hereford,[3] the manuscript of the use of Sarum,[4] mark the difference between the ritual for the prayer for the Jews and that of the others.

I therefore conclude that the use of York for the Good Friday service differed at the end of the XIIth century from the others in this particular point. When the priest came to that part of the service where the Jews were prayed for, the deacon was silent, but the congregation preserved the truly Christian custom of kneeling for the Jews, making no difference between them and other men on the day when Christ died for all.

If we are right, the three stages discerned by M. Canet must, at least for the Church of York, be modified as follows :—

(1) *Oremus* and *flectamus* (till the IXth century).

(2) *Oremus* and kneeling of the congregation but without *flectamus* (IXth-XIIIth).

(3) *Oremus* (XIIIth-XVIth century).

(4) No *Oremus* neither *flectamus* (after XVIth century).

And we have here another instance of the preservation of old customs in the English churches.

I do not believe, however, that this practice of kneeling was preserved a long time after the XIIth century. The very slight difference between the writing of the corrector and that of the scribe is evidence that a very short time after the end of the XIIth century the Church of York, like many others, in the Iron Age forgot the gospel of forgiveness.

[1] *Latin MS.* 190, fo. 28.

[2] p. 103. Post passionem praelatus, osculato textu, dicat has orationes, stans in dextra parte altaris, sine Dominus vobiscum, et ad unamquamque illarum dicatur "Flectamus genua" nisi ad eam quae pro Judaeis oratur.

[3] p. 91. Lecta passione in primis fiat oratio pro Ecclesia Sancta Dei et caetera sequentes per ordinem pronuntiante Diacono "Flectamus genua". Pro Judaeis tamen non genua flectant.

[4] p. 110. "Sequantur orationes sollempnes et unamquamque illarum dicatur 'Flectamus genua' nisi ad illam quae pro Judaeis orat."

SHORT ARTICLES.

AN UNIDENTIFIED PAPYRUS IN THE NEW OXYRHYNCHUS VOLUME.

In the new volume (vol. xiii.) of the papyri from Oxyrhynchus, the editors have given us among the theological papyri what they describe as—

Pap. 1603. Homily Concerning Women.

They attribute the papyrus to the fifth or sixth century, and say that the subject is a diatribe, addressed probably to ascetics, against the female sex, through whom the Evil One is wont to exert his wiles! I pointed out to Dr. Grenfell that it was a part of a *Homily on the Decollation of John the Baptist*, and that it would be found amongst Chrysostom's Works (ed. Savile, p. 545) with some hesitation as to authorship. Dr. Grenfell, accordingly, re-edited his text as below, with the following additional notes.

[. . .]α του Ουριου δο[λοφονιαν
[. . .]ε· δια γυναικος το[ν σοφωτατον
[Σο]λ[ο]μ̣ω̣να προς παραβασιν [κατεστρωσε
δια γυναικος τον ανδριωτ[ατον Σαμψων(α?)
ξυρησας ετυφλωσε· δια γ[υναικος τους
υιους Ηλει του ιερεως εδαφ[ισας εκτανε?
δια γυναικος τον ουρανον [. . .
εδιωξε· δια γυναικος το[ν ευγενεστατον
Ιωσηφ εν φυλ(ακ)η δεσμευσα[ς κατεκλεισε·
δια γυναικος τον παντος [κοσμου λυχνον
Ιωαννην απετεμεν· τι δ[ε λεγω περι ανων
δια γυναικος τους αγλους [ουρανοθεν κα
τεβαλε· δια γυναικος παντα[ς κατασφαζει·
παντας φονευει· παντας απ[ιμαζει·
γυνη γαρ αναιδης ουδενος φε[ιδεται

ου Λευιτην τιμα· ουκ ιερεα ε[ντρεπεται
ου προφητην αιδειται· ω̣ [κακον κακου
κακιστον γυνη πονηρα[κ]α̣ν μ̣[εν πενιχρα η
εαν δε και πλουτον εχη τη πονη[ρια αυτης
συ]νεργουντα· δισσον το κακο[ν αφορητον
το ζωο̣ν· ἀθεραπευτον [το θηριον
. . . . . .

1. Not τη]ν του Ουριου. δο[λοφονι]αν εξεμην]ε seems too short.
6. ηδαφ[ισε, MS. too short.
7-8. (εδιωξε), omitted MS.
14. There seems to be no room for παντας υβριζει after ατ[ιμαζει.
18. [κ]αν μ[εν πενιχρα η,
or possibly,
[κ]αν η [πενιχρα.
There is certainly not room for τη κακια πλουτοι as well.
19. και : omitted MSS.
21. αθεραπευτον [το θηριον (v.l. in Sav.), suits better than αθεραπευτος [νοσος.

Both papyrus and MSS. seem to suffer by omissions owing to homoioteleuton or homoioarcheion.

To the foregoing I add the following supplementary remarks.

The passage of pseudo-Chrysostom will be found quoted in the *Parallela Sacra* of John of Damascus (ed. Lequien, ii. 411).

From this we get the following further rectifications :—

1. προς την κατα του Ουριου (Par.).
3. προς παραβασιν [κατεστρεψε (Par.).
6. εδαφισεν (Par.).
7. Complete the line thus
τον ουρανο[δρομον Ηλιαν (Par.).
12, 13. (κατεβαλε) : the clause is omitted *per incuriam* in Par.
17. εναιδειται (Par.).
18. καν η πενιχρα (Par.) without τη κακια πλουτοι.
19. Par. has ελη for εχη.
21. αθεραπευτον το θηριον (Par.).

I omit one or two unimportant variations.

RENDEL HARRIS.

FROM MERLIN TO SHAKESPEARE.

Adventures of an English Prophecy.

The Latin MS. 210 [R. 39882] in the John Rylands Library consists of three manuscripts written in the XIVth and bound together in the XVth century. It contains three theological treatises by John Waldeby, a hermit of St. Augustine, a set of *Exempla* ascribed, probably erroneously, to Jacques de Vitry, a treatise on the ten capital sins by Robert Grosseteste, and another devotional treatise on the Ten Commandments. One of the characteristic features of this manuscript is that, although it consists mainly of Latin texts, a contemporary hand has added some fragments in vernacular on the blank leaves, while in the treatise on the Commandments the text of each commandment is given in English rhyme before its Latin commentary. Our manuscript is therefore an illustration of the passing of the Latin language and the revival of English.

One of the English additions is a "prophecy" in which an unknown writer laments the times on which he is fallen, and foretells the confusion of England which shall follow certain signs. We print below a transcription of this text with a translation into modern English. A part of it (lines 3-10), under the title of "Prosperity" and with a distinctly more modern orthography, is found in the MS. *Arch. Selden. B.* 24 in the Bodleian Library, where it follows Chaucer's poem on "Truth" and where it is itself ascribed to Chaucer. As such it was printed by R. Morris in his edition of Chaucer in 1866 (t. VI. p. 296). It is rejected by W. W. Skeat in his critical edition.[1] But as far as we are able to discover in the absence of that most desirable catalogue of *Initia* which we hope some English university will some day undertake, the full text of this little poem has never been published.

As far as we are able to judge after a short study, the language of our fragment does not permit us to determine exactly to what part of England its author belonged; he was probably of the Midlands, but that is all we will venture to say. His date may be surmised with more probability to be the middle of the fourteenth century; his prosody is a mixture of octosyllabic, decasyllabic, and Alexandrine

[1] *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. W. W. Skeat, Oxford, 1894, 8vo, t. I. pp. 46, 47.

lines arranged now in couplets now in quatrains and interrupted by three alliterative lines containing no rhymes ; a fitting measure in which to record the chaotic state of affairs which his lines lament.

Whanne lyf ys most louyd and deth is most hatyd
Deth drawyth his drawt and makyth man ful nakyd,
Ryȝt as pouerte cawsyth soburnesse
And febelnesse enforsyth contynence,
Ryȝt so prosperite and syknesse
Be modure of vice and necligence,
And powere also cawsyt insolence
And hyȝ onewr changyt gode þewys.
There is no more perilous pestilense
Than hiȝ astat ȝeuen unto shrewys.
Pes makyth plente, plente makyth proyde,
Proyde makyth plee, plee makyth pouerte, pouerte makyth pees,
As þerefore grace growyth after gouernawnce.
Whenne lordis wol lose har olde lawys
And prestis buth varyynge in har sawys,
And lecherye iṣ holde solas
And oppressyon for purchas [1]
þanne shal þe lond of Albyon
be nyȝ to his confusyon.

Translation : When life is most loved, and death most hated—death draweth his shaft and maketh man all naked.—Even as poverty causeth soberness—and feebleness enforceth continence,—right so prosperity and sickness—be mother of vice and negligence,—and power also causeth insolence,—and high honour changeth good servants.—There is no more perilous pestilence—than high estate given unto shrews.—Peace maketh plenty, plenty maketh pride,—pride maketh strife, strife maketh poverty, poverty maketh peace ;—even as grace groweth after governance.—When lords shall lose their old laws,—and priests shall vary in their precepts,—and lechery is held for solace,—and oppression for purchase,—then shall the land of Albion—be nigh to her confusion.

This little poem appears to have had an extensive vogue. Its last six lines became a popular saying, which we find in more or less varying forms now as " Chaucer's prophecy," now as " Merlin's ".

As " Chaucer's prophecy " it appears in the Aldine edition of Chaucer [2] in the following form :—

[1] In front of lines 14-17 the scribe has added *prophetia.*

[2] *The Aldine Edition of the British Poets. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer.* London, 1845, 12mo, t. VI. p. 287.

Gwan prestis faylin in her sawes
And Lordis turnin Goddis lawes
Ageynis ryt
And lecherie is holdin as privy solas
And robberie as fre purchas
Beware thanne of ille
Then schall the Lond of Albion
Turnin to confusion
As sumtyme it befelle.[1]

The editor states[2] he found this text "on the flyleaf of a miscellaneous old MS. containing the Meditations of St. Anselm, and other devotional pieces in Latin. The date at the end of the volume, but in a different hand, is M. CCC. LXXXI.". But he does not tell us what this manuscript really is, so that from his indications it is impossible to trace it.

Caxton, in his small *quarto* edition of Chaucer, prints on the blank space left on the last leaf the following "saying," which with his usual wisdom he does not ascribe to anybody, and in which it is easy to recognise a slightly different redaction of our text :—

Whan feyth failleth in prestes sawes
And lordes hestes ar holden for lawes
And robbery is holden purchas
And lechery is holden solas
Than shal the Lond of Albyon
Be brought to grete confusioun.[3]

The gentleman who wrote in 1589 the book known as the "Arte of Poesie," and who is generally called George Puttenham,[4] was less cautious than the illustrious printer, and inserted in his work the same saying in a form again slightly different, but ascribing it with a certain emphasis to Geoffrey Chaucer :—

"Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, father of our English Poets, hath these verses following the distributor :—

When faith failes in Preestes sawes,
And Lords hestes are holden for lawes,
And robberie is tane for purchase,
And lechery for solace,

[1] *eod. loc.* [2] *Ibid.*

[3] See *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. W. W. Skeat. Oxford, 1894, 8vo, t. I. pp. 45-6.

[4] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. E. Arber. London, 1869, 4to.

Then shall the Realme of Albion
Be brought to great confusion." [1]

Needless to say that recent Chaucerian scholars do not admit the authenticity of this piece.

In Puttenham's own time, moreover, this saying was attributed by public opinion to a perhaps more illustrious and certainly more fabulous source, to none other than Merlin Ambrosius, Geoffrey of Monmouth's prophet, whose "prophesies," first launched in the XIIth century, did not cease to be reproduced and added to till at least the XVIIth.[2] For we find in Shakespeare's *King Lear* among further examples of these popular "sayings" a last echo of our XIVth century model.[3]

In Act III. Scene 2, at the close of the scene the fool speaks a prophesy which in the main differs from our text, but of which the first line and two of the last are evidently taken from the same source:—

Fool. I'll speak a prophecy ere I go:—
When priests are more in word than matter;
When brewers mar their malt with water;
When nobles are their tailor's tutors;
No heretics burn'd, but wenches' suitors;
When every case in law is right;
No squire in debt, no poor knight;
When slanders do not live in tongues,
Nor cutpurses come not to throngs;
When usurers till their gold i' th' field,
And bowds and whoris do churches build,
Then shall the realm of Albion
Come to great confusion.
Then comes the time, who lives to see 't,
That going shall be used with feet.
This prophecy Merlin [4] shall make; for I live before his time.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 232.

[2] See *The Life of Merlin Surnamed Ambrosius, his Prophecies and Predictions* [by Thomas Heywood]. London, 1641, 4to. Nothing similar to our text is to be found among the numerous prophecies referring to all times contained in Heywood's work, but we note on page 361 the following remark: "Many other prophesies have beene disperst abroad under the name of Merlin". It is perhaps needless to add that countless examples of prophecies of Merlin and others were current for centuries in France as in England. The most famous and unquenchable is perhaps the prophecy ascribed to Malachi, which was quoted at the time of the last papal elections.

[3] We acknowledge with pleasure our debt to Dr. Rendell Harris who called our attention to the Shakespeare text, and thereby, in fact, to all the others.

[4] Another reference to Merlin's prophecies appears in Henry IV. Part . Act III. Scene 1, lines 146-53.

It appears to be doubtful if this passage is Shakespeare's or an addition made by an actor.[1] In any case, be it addition or genuine text, for the general public our prophecy thus survives as part of one of the masterpieces of English literature.

In conclusion, we may observe that, in spite of the variations we have noted in the text itself, the rhythm remains exactly the same. This is, in fact, very natural, a prophecy being a kind of consecrated formula of which the rhythm, perhaps an old magical survival, is an essential part.

The persistence of such prophecies is also not difficult to explain. Do not the "signs of the times" remain much the same from age to age, and if we are in the mood, may we not, for instance, see at the present time all the portents from which our mediæval pessimist spells such confusion?

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FURTHER NOTES ON THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY LATIN MANUSCRIPT No. 15 (ST. CYPRIAN).

THE courtesy of the Editor has enabled me to add some interesting notes on the history of this manuscript. Those communicated to him by Monsieur Emile Radé, sub-librarian of the town of Colmar, have shed welcome light on the history of the manuscript during the middle period of last century, and both the Librarian of the John Rylands Library and myself desire to render him our cordial thanks for his kind communication.

The Cyprian manuscript doubtless remained in the Murbach library till 1791, at which date it was, along with the other books in the library, transferred to the Colmar town library. By the middle of the nineteenth century it had already somehow come into the possession of Canon Maimbourg, parish priest of Colmar. While it was in his possession, to be exact, in the year 1846, Dom (afterwards Cardinal) Pitra saw it, and wrote out the following description :—

[1] See the excellent note to line 81 in the *Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, ed. H. H. Furness, Vol. V. Philadelphia, 1880, 8vo., p. 178-9.

S. Cypriani opera. Codex membr. vetustissimus, caractere unciali interdum merovingico, saec. circ. VIII. Continentur in eo: 1° epistolae ad diversos, quarum VII ad Cornelium, ex quibus duae inscribuntur ad Cornelium pseudo-episcopum. 2° opuscula tria litteris intermixta, nempe ad Quirinum libri tres, de vanitate idolorum, sententiae LXXXVII episc. In fine legitur nota, ipsiusmet celeberrimi Bartholomaei subscriptio: orate pro Bartholomaeo abbate Murbacensi. Textus nitidus, accurate manu coaeva correctus; ex modo recitata subscriptione constat hunc librum ad insignem abbatiae Murbacensis librariam pertinuisse."

After the death of Canon Maimbourg, his heir, Henri Chauffour, clerk to the tribunal of commerce at Colmar, sold the volume and the other books—including the St. Cyprian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford—, to a Paris bookseller named Duprat. From him Libri must have bought or stolen our codex.

The manuscript is not mentioned in the ninth century catalogue of the Murbach library, published by H. Bloch in the *Strassburger Festschrift zur* 46. *Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* (1901), pp. 257-85. In that list the Oxford Cyprian figures, but not this.

Mr. Mario Esposito, formerly a member of the staff of the John Rylands Library, has reminded me that our manuscript is described in Heinrich Schenkl's *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica* (Wiener Sitzungsberichte, Bd. CL. (5) [1905], pp. 55 f. no. 4819). Schenkl there expresses the opinion that it was the unfrocked Benedictine, Jean Baptiste Mangérard, a prowler among the libraries of the Rhineland about the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, who altered the Murbach note. On this celebrated thief of manuscripts the classic treatise is of course that of Ludwig Traube (*ob.* 1907) and Rudolf Ehwald in the Bavarian Abhandlungen, Dritte Klasse,[1] Bd. XXIII. (1904), part 2.

A. SOUTER.

SINN FÉIN.

"OURSELVES ALONE." The occurrence of the now familiar English rendering of Sinn Féin, printed in capitals by way of emphasis, in a

[1] It is important to distinguish between this "Dritte Klasse" and the 'philosophisch-philologische Klasse," as I know to my cost.

Dublin pamphlet of 1842, cannot fail to evoke one's interest at the present time. The title of the pamphlet to which we refer is : "Facts in reply to a letter addressed by Mr. George Mathews to the Protestant Dissenting Congregations of Strand Street and Eustace Street, Dublin. By a member of the congregation of Strand Street." To show the manner in which the phrase is employed it is necessary to quote a little of the context. "Who is to choose our religious belief and our pastor? OURSELVES ALONE ; and no relator, or court upon earth, has any right to interfere with our choice."

It will be noticed that the phrase is used in such a way, besides the emphasis of capitalisation, as to suggest its current employment at the period. Supposing this view to be correct, can one discover its origin ? Accustomed as we are to take it merely as a translation of Sinn Féin, we do not stop to think whether it is a natural English expression or not ; but employed as the phrase is in this case, it has a ring which is not quite English about it, noticeable here because the pamphlet is in English. Almost instinctively the mind translates it into Latin, and the Latin of the Vulgate too. Can the source be found there ? We venture to suggest that it may. There is a verse in Ezra, chap. iv. 3 (in the Vulgate, 1 Esdras iv. 3) the latter part of which may have been responsible for its currency : "Sed nos ipsi soli aedificabimus Domino Deo nostro," rendered in the Douay Old Testament of 1609-10, "But we ourselues alone wil build to the Lord our God". This verse, specially appropriate for ecclesiastical purposes such as the dedication of churches, may easily have been responsible for the introduction of the phrase into the religious diction of Ireland, and thence into the common speech of the country. When William Bedell prepared his translation of the Bible in Irish (1685), the verse was translated thus : acht finn féin lé céile do déanam é don Tigearna Dia Israel. The words "Nos ipsi soli" are thus rendered, as will be seen, Sinn féin in the first Irish Bible.

We have tried to discover a clue to the original source of the term as found in the common idiom of the country. The founders of the movement of Sinn Féin may not have had this verse consciously in mind, but there is at least ground for thinking that the phrase has its remoter origin there.

G. VINE.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

By the EDITOR.

WE are glad to be able to announce the rapidly approaching realization of the purpose which the Governors of the John Rylands Library had in view in December, 1914, when the present scheme was inaugurated for rendering assistance to the authorities of the University of Louvain in their heavy task of making good the ruin wrought by the war, by providing them with the nucleus of a new library to replace the famous collection of books and manuscripts which had been so ruthlessly destroyed by the Germans, some four months earlier.

In January last, Belgium having been freed from the hateful presence of the invaders, the University was repatriated, by the return of the authorities to the devastated scene of their former activities and triumphs, there to reassemble their scattered students, to resume their accustomed work, and to take a prominently active part in the immediate business of effecting a transition to a peace footing, as well as in the educational and other schemes of reconstruction which were already taking shape.

The Rector of the University (Monsignor P. Ladeuze) writing under date of the 21st September, in the name of his Alma Mater, at the conclusion of the first session of its revival, refers in terms of gratitude and appreciation to what has been accomplished by the Rylands Governors in collaboration with the Executive of the National Committee for promoting the resuscitation of the Library of the University of Louvain, and with the aid of the many contributors both individual and institutional, who with great promptitude and generosity responded to our appeals for help.

From the same source we are delighted to learn of the success which has attended the University since its reopening. No less than 3200 students have been in attendance, and Monsignor Ladeuze

anticipates a still larger number of entries at the opening of the new session this month.

As we pointed out in a previous report, one of the first essentials in the organization and equipment of any University is a library, for without one it has been likened to a garden without flowers, or a purse without money. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that, in the absence of this essential part of the University's equipment, the work of the students has been somewhat hampered. Fortunately, this is a deficiency which will be remedied during the ensuing session, since temporary premises have been secured, to serve as library and reading room, pending the erection of the new library building, and it will be our privilege to assist in the furnishing of the shelves with a live, up-to-date collection of books designed to meet the immediate requirements of staff and students.

To this end we are making arrangements for the despatch to Louvain of the first instalment of the new library, which has been in process of formation here in Manchester since December, 1914. This consignment will consist of 5000 volumes, accompanied by a catalogue on cards, and will be followed by others as quickly as they can be made ready for shipment.

It is gratifying to be able to report that the appeal for further contributions which we made in our last issue, has met with the same encouraging response as was accorded to our earlier requests for help. In proof of this statement it needs only to be pointed out that since the publication of our last report upwards of 9000 additional volumes have been contributed, whereby the total number of volumes actually received and registered is increased to 21,000. Even this does not complete the record, for it does not take into account many other definite promises of help which have still to materialize, and several consignments of books, at present in course of transit from such distant parts of the Empire as Bombay, Toronto, and Sydney, which together will still further swell the total by many thousands of volumes, on behalf of the Governors and the Executive Committee.

This is a very substantial beginning for a new library, and we take this opportunity of renewing our thanks to those who have assisted us in the formation of such a collection ; but when it is compared with the library it is intended to replace, comprising as it did at least a quarter of a million of volumes, it can only be described as the nucleus,

and it is obvious that very much more remains to be done if it is to approach anything like the equivalent of its predecessor.

There are a number of well-wishers who decided to withhold their proposed gifts until such time as we could announce the repatriation of the University, and the actual re-establishment of the library at Louvain. This was at a time when Belgium was still in the occupation of the Germans ; and there may have been some reason for their anxiety, although personally, incurable optimists as we are, we never had any doubts as to the ultimate issue of events. There can be no longer any reason for withholding such contributions, which we shall be glad to receive at the earliest convenience of the prospective donors.

In making our last appeal we explained that whilst keeping in view the general character of the library which we had in contemplation, we were anxious that it should be thoroughly representative of English scholarship, in other words, that its equipment should include the necessary material for research in the history, language, and literature of this country together with the contributions which British scholars have made to other departments of learning. That appeal has borne excellent fruit, as will be seen from the accompanying list of contributors. Many societies have furnished either full sets of their transactions and other publications, or such as were in print and consequently available. Several of the leading publishers have also rendered most valuable assistance in the building up of the collection on its modern side.

The Honorary Secretary of the Irish Texts Society (Miss Eleanor Hull) in forwarding to us on behalf of the Council of that Society, a set of their recently issued edition of Keating's "History of Ireland," took the opportunity of reminding us of the close and friendly connection that has existed for a long period, but more particularly during the seventeenth century, between Louvain and Ireland.

The communication is so full of interesting information, which is not otherwise accessible in the form in which it is given, that, with Miss Hull's consent, we are reproducing it for the benefit of our readers, and in order that it may have the wider publicity which it merits.

"At a time when Catholic education was difficult to obtain in Ireland, great numbers of young men found in Louvain an educational centre. Three Irish colleges flourished there ; the Irish Dominican College in the street then known as 'Rue des Dominicains Irlandais' ;

the Pastoral College in the Rue des Orphelins, which up to a recent period bore the name 'Collegium Hibernum' cut in stone above its gateway; and the still more important foundation of the Recollects in the Marché aux Porcs, established in 1616 and named after Saint Anthony of Padua."

"Within the walls of this later college worked the famous group of scholars who might fitly be termed the Irish Bollandists. Ward, Fleming, John Colgan, O'Sheerin, Stephen White, and Luke Wadding contributed to the collection and compilation of the Irish Saints' Lives, and other religious works, some of which were published by Colgan under the titles 'Trias Thaumaturga' and 'Acta Sanctorum veteris et majoris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ,' great undertakings which Colgan's feeble health did not permit him to complete, but much more of which remains in manuscript among the Irish collections now in the Burgundian Library of Brussels. These were found in Colgan's room and removed from Louvain for safety about the time of the French Revolution."

"In 1608 there came to Louvain the hunted Earls, Tyrone and Tyrconnell (O'Neill and O'Donnell) with their party of nearly one hundred followers. They were hospitably entertained by the city during the whole winter, O'Neill being lodged in a hostelry known as the 'Imperial House,' and O'Donnell in another palace close by. A contemporary record, written by the Secretary who accompanied the Earls in their travels, describes the revels organized for their entertainment at Christmas, and also the unusual event of the spearing of a large salmon through the bridge crossing a branch of the River Dyle brought up into the city with the flow of water consequent on the breaking up of the ice after a severe winter."

"On the floor of the Chapel of St. Anthony is still to be seen the inscription on the tomb of two of their party, Rose, wife of Cahil, O'Donnell's brother, and her son Hugh. After Cahil's death she married the great Owen Roe O'Neill (the Don Eugenio O'Neil of Spanish documents) whose early career in the Netherlands gave promise of his warlike nature, and of those powers of organization which he afterwards exercised in his own country.

"Finally, we recall the visit of Michael O'Clery, afterwards one of the 'Four Masters,' from Donegal to Louvain to assist Hugh Ward in carrying out the literary work on which he had set his heart. Some time about 1627 it was decided by Ward and Colgan that

O'Clery should return to Ireland to collect fresh materials for their use. The industry he displayed in this expedition is shown, not only in the vast mass of material in his beautiful handwriting which forms the bulk of the Irish collections at Brussels, but in a series of hagiological and historical works, of which the most lasting in its importance is the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' on which Michael O'Clery and his helpers worked uninterruptedly from January, 1632 to August, 1636, under the shade of the ruined Franciscan Monastery of Donegal, on the shores of Donegal Bay. It was during the very same period in which O'Clery was working on the Annals in Donegal that Dr. Geoffrey Keating was writing in his hiding place in the glens of Aherlow, in Munster, the legends and history known under the name of the 'Foras Feasa ar Eirinn,' a copy of which we now give ourselves the pleasure of presenting to Louvain Library. It may add to its interest to know that the earliest existing copy of this history was carried over to Louvain, probably by O'Clery himself, and is described as one of the volumes 'found in the chamber of our Father Colgan' after his death. This manuscript with many others once preserved in Louvain, is now in the collection in the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin. It was written before 1640, and therefore in Keating's own lifetime. O'Clery died at Louvain in 1643."

Apparently, Ireland is not to be behind in this good work, and has entered into the generous rivalry of restitution. We gather from an interesting article which appeared in the "Tuam Herald" of May 17th, that already a representative committee has been formed in Dublin, under the auspices of the four Archbishops, and the Presidents of Maynooth, Dublin, and Cork University Colleges, with some representative laymen to collect money and books for the Louvain Library, with which Ireland was for centuries so closely associated, and to which it is bound by so many close ties. There, in the cloisters of Louvain, countless Irishmen taught and were taught. The College of St. Anthony of Padua, already referred to by Miss Hull, owes its foundation to a distinguished Archbishop of Tuam, Florence Conroy, "flos mundi," a familiar name by which that learned man was known by his contemporaries. He it was who established the first printing press in connection with the University, and many historical and devotional books that subsequently found their way into Ireland came from the

Louvain Press. The establishment of the school of St. Thomas Aquinas in the Superior Institute of Philosophy, was the work of Pope Leo XIII, and the first to fill that chair was he who is now the most prominent and revered churchman in Europe, the distinguished Cardinal Mercier. That great and good man who nobly stood up for the defence of his people in this war, who bravely faced the cruel arrogance and insolence of the Germans, was himself originally a student of Louvain, and afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy.

We shall be glad to receive further offers of books, or contributions in money to meet the expenses incidental to the organization of such a library. Many of the books already contributed have required attention at the hands of the binders, before they could be regarded as ready to be placed upon the shelves of the new library, we should, therefore, welcome contributions towards the fund to meet these and other contingent expenses.

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